

Stumping or Stumped?

The left in the
'82 ELECTIONS

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THE INSIDE STORY



Mary Jean Collins (left), NOW's new vice-president from Illinois, and Judy Goldsmith (right), NOW's new president from Wisconsin

NOW's convention: at the crossroad

By David Behrens

INDIANAPOLIS

Illusion was an uninvited guest here earlier this month. It was the illusion of radicalism. Its presence was felt while 1,800 voting delegates of the National Organization for Women (NOW) gathered to shape the tactics and strategies of the feminist movement for the remainder of the decade.

The illusion was most keenly sensed during the final days of the debate over the office of the president—a post held without challenge for five years by Eleanor Smeal of Pittsburgh. Under her laid-back leadership, realistic politics had overshadowed radical tactics, and the nation's largest feminist organization had grown to 220,000 members—with its own national political action committee, a campaign kitty of nearly \$4 million and a network of 81 local PACs being formed across the country.

Now the time to elect a new president had come. And for the first time since 1975, a seriously contested campaign for the top job was in the offing. About time, too, said some older members who felt NOW had become too moderate, too mainstream, too establishment and, well, too dull. All this acceptability seemed to be a turnoff after years of abuse.

"I sat next to a man on the plane from Boston," a former member of NOW's national board said. "When he asked me where I was going, I said, 'To a NOW convention.' He just said, 'Oh yes, I read about it in this morning's newspaper.' Ten years ago there would have been snickers or worse." She smiled. "I should have been happy, but I was a little let down."

So, for many delegates, a presidential race too close to call was invigorating. But the leading candidates in the five-way contest seemed clear: Judy Goldsmith, 43, a former English professor from Wisconsin, and Sonia Johnson, 46, the controversial former Mormon from Virginia.

Goldsmith had served as NOW's executive vice-president for the past four years. She was Smeal's choice as successor and she was perceived by a major-

ity of delegates as the "traditionalist," the leader who would move NOW from its current philosophic crossroad down a path of practical politics.

Johnson was Ms. Excitement in Indianapolis.

It was Johnson, after all, who joined NOW only three years ago after being kicked out of the Mormon Church as a Latter-Day heretic—for supporting the ERA. It was Johnson who was arrested for chaining herself to the White House fence last year and who staged a well-publicized pro-ERA hunger strike in Illinois last spring. While Johnson placed Reagan and a host of right-wing lawmakers as NOW's most crucial targets at the polls, she told delegates she would not discourage NOW members from engaging in non-violent acts of civil disobedience, even if they made mistakes. And, she said, she wanted to reach "the hearts and souls of women."

So there seemed to be a choice to many and it was slightly jarring. The last time NOW had a truly contested national election it was a bitter experience. The year was 1975 and Karen DeCrow was elected president under the banner, "Out of the Mainstream and into the Revolution." The voting then had gone on from evening until dawn and it was a wrenching time. Old time leaders such as Betty Friedan had shaken fists in the air and shouted at DeCrow backers from the floor of the Philadelphia convention hall: "You are wrecking this organization."

But DeCrow did not wreck the organization and NOW's rendezvous with the revolution was postponed. The ERA was in trouble and the cause of ratification became NOW's number one priority.

Now in 1982, the ERA campaign was over—at least for the time being. Ronald Reagan was in the White House. And jobs for women were more scarce and low-paying than ever.

Where to next?

The road ahead.

There were roadsigns everywhere. When the conference began on Friday, October 8, buttons reading "I'll remember in November" were a popular selection among delegates. And political action was clearly the official theme of this 15th annual meeting. It was stated boldly in a vintage 1919 photo of a feminist group displaying a banner imprinted with the words of Susan B. Anthony, the 19th century feminist leader. It read: "No Self-Respecting Woman Should Wish or Work for the Success of a Party That Ignores Her Sex." At that time, feminists were asking Democrats and Republicans to support women's right to vote. Now, the feminists of the '80s were simply asking the Republicans to get up and get out.

Here the illusion of radicalism joined the debate.

From the start, Goldsmith's backers insisted their candidate was no moderate. Yes, they agreed Sonia Johnson was talking of gay rights and abortion and "the feminization of poverty" as NOW's top three issues. Yes, she did support a constitutional amendment on gay rights, arguing "we must campaign as openly, as courageously and as powerfully for this cause as we have for any other." And yes, she did advocate tactics that included radical "zap action" in attaining NOW goals.

So Johnson's rhetoric was stirring to many. But hadn't NOW already committed itself to these issues—to gay rights and minority rights and economic equality? Of course, said Goldsmith. Political action did not mean surrender to the political system, said her supporters. And if elected, Goldsmith promised to

follow "a very strong, bold course of action, not moderate at all, very energetic."

Everyone was afraid of being moderate. But radicalism aside, there is more to running a multi-million dollar organization than chaining yourself to a fence, Johnson's opponents jibed. "As president, she wouldn't be able to go on a hunger strike unless NOW's national board let her. So I don't object to her as a radical," one of her critics said, "I just don't see how a woman who's never run a local chapter can run a national organization."

That view reflected the Goldsmith strategy. She stressed her years of NOW leadership experience, emphasizing "continued" commitment to political action. She also pointed with pride to the national NOW/PAC established in 1978, which will have a budget of nearly \$4 million by November and millions more in 1984. But she too recited a feminist agenda that was both familiar and tough-minded—and sounded much like the so-called "radical" agenda of new opportunities issued by Johnson. Reagan must be defeated in 1984, Goldsmith said, "and he will get all the attention he deserves." Abortion rights and gay rights and minority rights—all were still NOW's keystone goals. The drive for equality in employment and education would be intensified. Sex discrimination in the insurance industry also would be a special NOW target.

But what about the peace movement? Would NOW, under Goldsmith, be as active as Johnson had vowed it would be? No question about it, Goldsmith said without a pause. The NOW position on peace was time-tested: a freeze on nuclear weapons and a halt to the expansion of the U.S. military budget were vital demands of the organization, she said.

But she conceded that NOW had been less than successful in recruiting members of minority groups.

Although civil rights and women's rights are closer together today than ever before because of Reagan's policies, Goldsmith admitted a better way was needed to relate the feminist movement to black, Hispanic and other minority women. More men were also needed. "You don't have to be female to be feminist," she said, echoing an old NOW view.

But NOW leaders had electoral politics on their minds from the start. And one of the key resolutions shaped a new political tool—to be called the Institute for Feminist Politics, designed to recruit feminist candidates and campaign staff members, a long-time goal of Smeal.

Status quo or change?

When the convention got down to the serious business of electing a new president, Johnson declared, "You don't have to choose between mind and heart." Her election could be "a great opportunity...a chance to choose between the path of status quo and the path of change...not just for electoral politics but to come at this society from every direction."

Countering charges that she did not have the experience to run NOW, Johnson said, "People say I'm cute but ask me what makes me think I could run such a large organization...now isn't that what men have been saying to women for hundreds of years?" But, Johnson said, "we can be one of the greatest forces for change in our time...it's time to start leading."

She also called for a stronger international feminist movement, "that like the tide, cannot be halted or turned back...that can rescue Mother Earth and her family." She drew a standing ovation, even from the

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The double-digit jobless rate marks start of a new era

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

WHAT A DIFFERENCE A digit makes. In August, the number of jobless Americans officially stood at 10,810,000. In September, it was up to 11,260,000, an increase of about half a million. But the big news, which arrived on Friday, October 9, precisely at 8 a.m., was the Department of Labor's announcement that the rate had jumped from 9.8 percent to 10.1, the highest level in 42 years.

Unemployment has been advancing in fits and starts since 1970, yet as long as it stayed within the realm of the single digit, it somehow seemed manageable. But the arrival of double-digit unemployment, like the arrival of double-digit inflation in the '70s, marks the start of a new era—the end of the great four-decade boom and the crossing of the great divide between recession and depression. Since August, when the economy turned decidedly downward, the '80s have been looking more and more grim.

The immediate outlook is for further deterioration in joblessness. The number of workers first applying for unemployment benefits is leapfrogging from month to month—an average of about 500,000 a week in July to 600,000 in August to 700,000 in September. The average manufacturing workweek—for those lucky enough to still have a job—contracted in September to 38.6 hours from 39.0 the month before, another sign of growing weakness. Moreover, the devastation in manufacturing is increasingly spilling over into such sectors as retailing and state and local government, according to the latest statistics.

"What makes these numbers so dismal ... is that they all show substantial increases," said Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, regional commissioner of labor statistics in New York. "Everything—the number of involuntary part-time workers, discouraged workers, manufacturing unemployment."

Discouraged workers (those who have given up looking for work and are considered to have dropped out of the labor market altogether) now number 1.6 million, 120,000 more than in June and a half-million increase over the past 12 months. The number of workers reduced to working part-time because they cannot find full-time jobs now stands at 6.6 million, up 950,000 from the month before.

Put those three categories together and you have a total of 17.5 percent of the employable population that is without full-time work.

And the bad news goes on. Blue-collar unemployment is now 15.6 percent, nearly one worker in six, up strongly from August's 14.2 percent. Black joblessness now stands at a severe 20.2 percent, up from 18.8 the month before. Hispanic unemployment held steady last month at 14.6, while for whites it jumped from 8.6 to 9.0—a postwar record in itself.

It is in manufacturing, though, where the fury of the crisis has been concentrated. The September figures showed a loss of 86,000 manufacturing jobs over the previous month, which is down 1.7 million from September 1981 and 2.4 million from mid-1979, when the slump began. This totals an overall drop of more than 11 percent in three and a half years. Four industrial states—Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan—have together lost a

half million manufacturing jobs in the last year.

The picture is a good deal worse for specific industries. In construction, for instance, the rate now stands at 22.6 percent; in auto, 18.7 percent; in textiles, 18.2 percent, and in lumber and wood products, 17.1 percent. But the sick man of American industry—indeed of the entire capitalist world economy—continues to be steel. In the U.S., where steel mills are operating at 40 percent of capacity, by far the lowest level since the Depression, joblessness now stands at 24.6 percent, a near tripling over the last 20 months.

In Western Europe, which U.S. steel companies used to blame for cheap imports, the industry is operating at only 60 percent of capacity, with 22-percent

Ohio Valley and the Ruhr Valley as well. The problem is international, with the same lengthening lines for jobless benefits in much of the world, and the same growing shock and dismay at the reappearance of mass unemployment after four decades.

No end in sight.

"I don't see how it's going to get any better," Fred Jackson, a 34-year-old black machinist unemployed for more than a year, said in Paterson the day before the September unemployment statistics were released. "Seems like every time you turn around, someone else is out of a job."

Keven Meyer, 28, a carpenter's apprentice, has been out of work since January. "When I first lost my job, I figured I'd take it easy for a few weeks and sleep late," he said outside the unemployment office in Hackensack, N.J. "I never thought it would take me so long to find another one."

Now he rides his 10-speed bike 20 miles or more a day because he can't afford bus fare and allows his friends to pay on the rare occasions when he goes out for a beer. "It makes me feel like a leech," Meyer said.

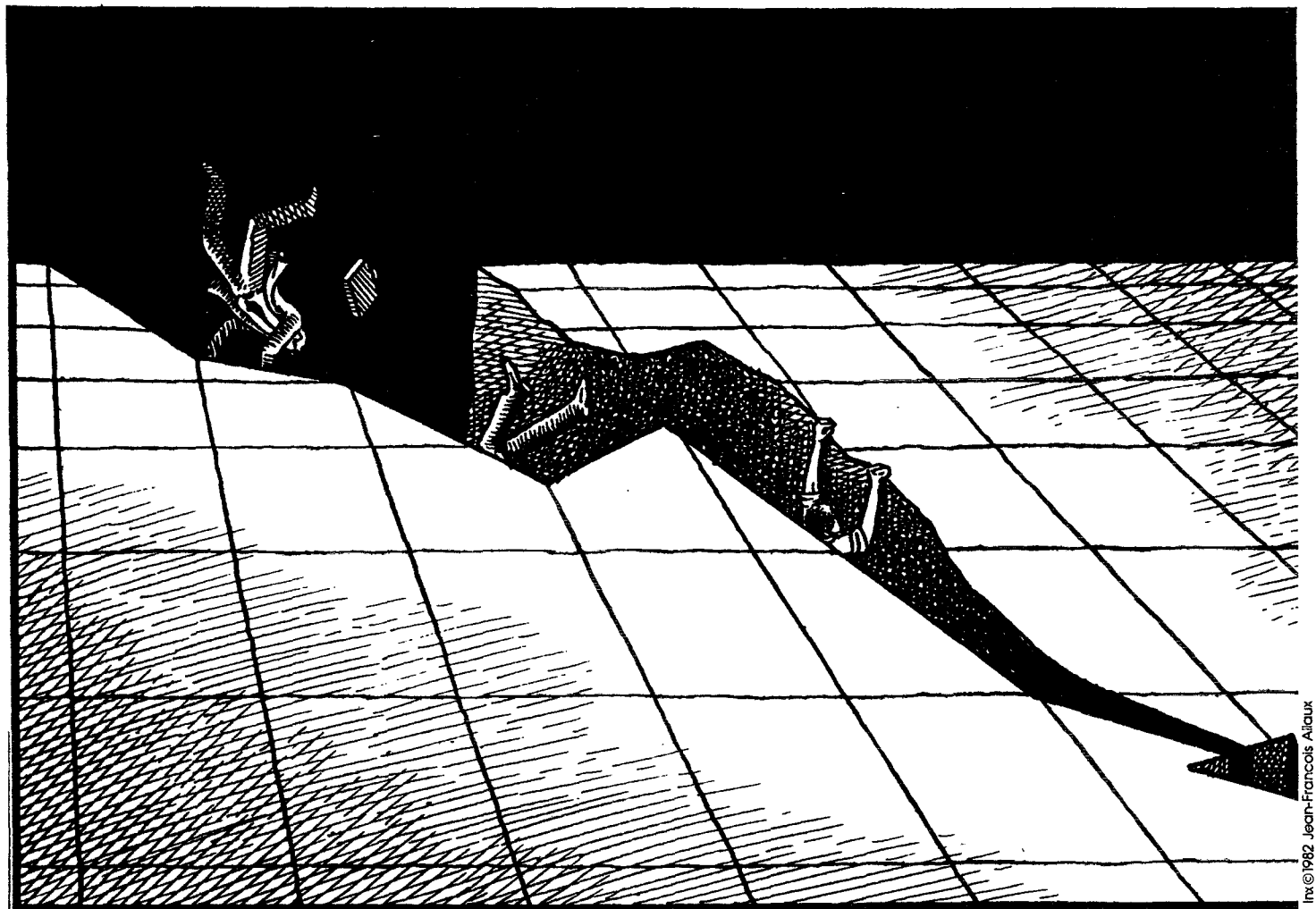
As unemployment grows, it does so both in depth and in breadth. Unskilled, semi-skilled and seasonal workers are finding

understated the problem since they specifically excluded the rural workforce, for whom life was quickly reduced to a brutal, animal-like existence familiar to any reader of Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. Starving farmers rioted in Oklahoma City, looted groceries in England, Ark., and barricaded Sioux City, Iowa, all in the desperate year of 1931. Farmers destroyed their crops and slaughtered their livestock because farm prices were well below the cost of production. Similarly, the price of wheat this year is off 12 percent from 1981.

In the current economic cycle, the high-water mark was set in 1979 when U.S. factories were operating at about 88 percent of capacity. Production fell in 1980 then rebounded in 1981, although factory utilization never got much higher than 80 percent. It fell again in mid-1981, with the result that factory utilization is now below 70 percent, capital investment is plummeting and industrial production is only 90 percent of the 1979 peak.

Where the money's going.

But there is still a lot of money in circulation. It is being invested in the stock market, where price advances and trading volume nearly set records last week and the week before, and in overheated merger wars such as the Bendix-Martin Marietta debacle last month that left one



Inv © 1982 Jean-François Allard

As long as the unemployment rate stayed within the realm of the single digit, it somehow seemed manageable.

unemployment and another 11.6 percent of the workforce on short hours because of the economic crunch. Overall, unemployment now stands at 7.8 percent for West Germany, 12.9 percent for Holland, 10.4 percent for Italy, 12.7 percent for Britain, 8.6 percent for France and 12.2 percent for Canada.

Which is simply to say that an awful lot of people are out of work everywhere—seamstresses in Paterson, N.J., auto workers in Michigan, construction workers in Mexico City, steel workers in the

that layoffs, a fact of life in the best of times, are lasting much longer. Workers who considered themselves middle class and therefore immune are shocked to find themselves on the unemployment line. "I went to a dinner party the other night," said Carol Agnello, a legal secretary on line at the Paterson unemployment office, "and of the six couples there, four had someone unemployed."

Is this depression-level unemployment? It's too early to say for sure, although the parallels with 1929 are getting curiously and curiously, right down to the stock market boom that preceded the crash and a Republican president who insists that a recovery is just around the corner.

Unemployment stood at just 3.2 percent in June 1929 when production peaked and thereafter began to climb slowly. In October came the crash and then a modest recovery in the first half of 1930, which prompted Herbert Hoover to declare, "I am convinced we have passed the worst." Unemployment averaged 8.9 percent in 1930, 15.9 percent in 1931, 23.6 percent in 1932 and 24.9 percent in 1933. By the time most people had grasped the magnitude of the collapse, the Depression was already more than a year old.

If anything, the unemployment figures

firm (Marietta) near-bankrupt and has already resulted in dismemberment and loss of independence for the other (see *In These Times*, October 13).

Yet contraction is continuing throughout the business world, from autos and steel to petroleum and international shipping. Prices for many goods are falling, with devastating consequences for farmers and manufacturers, especially in the Third World. A financial crisis of a type not seen since 1929-33 is brewing over the inability of Third World and Eastern European nations to pay more than \$500 billion in debts owed to already overstrapped Western banks.

In short, business leaders—at least those who have not been blinded by the buying frenzy on the New York Stock Exchange—are badly frightened. Just how badly can be seen from a September 21 speech to the Conference Board, a business roundtable group, by Albert M. Wornilower, chief economist at the First Boston Corporation investment banking house and a man so gloomy in his economic predictions that on Wall Street he is known as "Dr. Death." This is what he had to say:

"Notwithstanding all the rhetoric in favor of so-called 're-industrialization,' it

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IN SHORT

Radiation on the rise

Workers in the nuclear power industry are exposed to much more radiation now than they were a decade ago, according to a recent report released by Congress' General Accounting Office. Total radiation exposure was four times as high in 1980 as in 1969, but it was spread among more workers, which means that individual doses were within prescribed limits. The report said the findings raised "serious questions" about safety at nuclear reactors and it speculated that "it is uncertain whether enough workers can be hired and trained to safely operate and maintain future plants."

Meanwhile, in Norway a nuclear worker died September 16 after being exposed to 30 seconds of intense radiation two weeks earlier, reported Chicago's *No Nukes News*. In Canada, compensation payments were recently awarded to a man with lymph gland cancer and the family of another who died of leukemia. Industry officials conceded that the men's long careers at nuclear plants contributed to their diseases. And in Illinois, the Nuclear Regulatory Agency fined Commonwealth Edison \$100,000 for overexposing a worker to radiation on March 25 at the Zion plant near Lake Michigan. The utility claimed the worker had been "overzealous in the performance of his duties," as shown by the fact that he strayed "five or six feet" from his assigned area while searching for a water leak. During 67 seconds, he received an estimated 50 years' worth of everyday background radiation.

Ohio workers strike back

Five years after the announcement of a shutdown at the Youngstown Sheet and Metal Company that crippled the economy of Ohio's industrial Mahoning Valley, the labor movement there is still alive and kicking, reports Charles Curry. A strike by AFSCME-represented clerical and maintenance workers at a hospital in Warren has become the focus of activity. The strikers were all fired in what AFSCME leaders call an effort to bust the union, and other labor groups have come to their aid. Auto Workers and Electrical Workers hold weekly vigils on the hospital grounds, and an October 2 Solidarity Day rally in Youngstown featuring Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) drew 2,500. Later that day a second demonstration in support of strikers was held in Warren, where windows were broken at a business owned by a member of the hospital's board of directors and a foreign car was overturned in the hospital parking lot. Two men were arrested for inciting to riot, but they appeared to have no ties to rally organizers.

Paradise occupied

Residents of the Kwajalein Atoll, part of the Pacific's Marshall Islands, sailed for home this summer in defiance of the U.S. government, which controls the region under a UN charter. Most of the islanders were moved from their homes during the '50s and '60s to make way for an ever-expanding U.S. missile range. The range is used to gauge the accuracy of missiles fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. Eight thousand atoll residents were settled on the 66-acre Ebeye Island, which is now the most densely settled spot in the Pacific. Lacking a local water supply, a high school or even adequate sanitary facilities, Ebeye has become a seaside slum.

In June, 40 of the Islanders occupied part of the missile range and were soon joined by almost 1,000 others who objected to missile testing and the seizure of their land. The U.S. has attempted a blockade, stopping all food and supply shipments, but the atoll is bountiful enough to feed the protesters. A plebiscite choosing between independence or compact-association status for the entire Marshall Islands, scheduled for August 17, was also cancelled by the U.S. In addition, the military's lease on the atoll expired September 30. Things are at a stalemate now, with the U.S. unlikely to hold the election or negotiate on the status of the missile range until the occupation is over and the islanders unlikely to return voluntarily to the cramped quarters of Ebeye.

A Mickey Mouse tomorrow

Walt Disney Productions has seen the future and it doesn't work—at least not all the time. Epcot Center, their billion-dollar Florida playground built to showcase all the wonders that technology has in store for us, was plagued by malfunctions during its opening weekend earlier this month. The 100,000 visitors who streamed in to get a glimpse of tomorrow according to Exxon, Kodak, Bell Telephone and other corporations who financed exhibits found dozens of signs saying various attractions were "not operable." Other snafus took place in front of large audiences. But in some ways the future wasn't that different from the present—people had to stand in line for up to two hours to get a table in several of Epcot Center's better restaurants.

—Jay Walljasper



According to Connecticut's nuclear evacuation plan, residents would gather at the Westminster Library (pictured above) and wait out the nuclear attack.

Freeze opponents prepare for disaster

WICHITA, KAN.—Opponents of a nuclear freeze unveiled some of the tactics they hope will turn back the growing grassroots movement against nuclear arms at a convention of the American Civil Defense Association (TACDA) here October 7-9. Harsh attacks were leveled at the credibility and patriotism of disarmament groups, especially Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the need for a citizens movement to push for increased civil defense programs was stressed in many of the speeches delivered before the convention.

TACDA, formed in 1962 in the wake of the Cuban missile crisis, is a small, private organization with no official ties to public civil defense programs. Nonetheless, four members of Congress (including Minnesota Senator Dave Durenberger) belong to the group; and it works closely with national civil defense leaders.

Edward Teller—a zealous proponent of both nuclear energy and arms who is sometimes called the father of the H-bomb—told the convention that "the medical profession can make an enormous contribution if only it can help cure this nation of its tragic neurosis that nuclear war is unthinkable."

To counter the influence of Physicians for Social Responsibility, TACDA is organizing a competing organization—Doctors for Disaster Preparedness—to stress their view that preparations for nuclear war differ little from those for natural disaster. Physicians for Social Responsibility came in for criticism from many speakers for their "largely trumped-up statistics" and for favoring "surrender rather than fighting."

The freeze movement itself was denounced as "a massive, penetrating, synchronized Fifth Column." And three Roman Catholic bishops who have vigorously condemned production of nuclear arms—Raymond Hunt-hausen of Seattle, Leroy Mathieson of Amarillo and Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit—were said "to pose the greatest danger our society now faces." TACDA

members adopted a proposal to place ads in religious magazines arguing their position that it is immoral not to have an adequate civil defense.

General George Keegan of the American Security Council said that 80 million Americans would survive even a full-scale, surprise nuclear attack. With the implementation of a mass evacuation program, he claimed, 80 percent of the population would survive a nuclear war. Other speakers were even more optimistic.

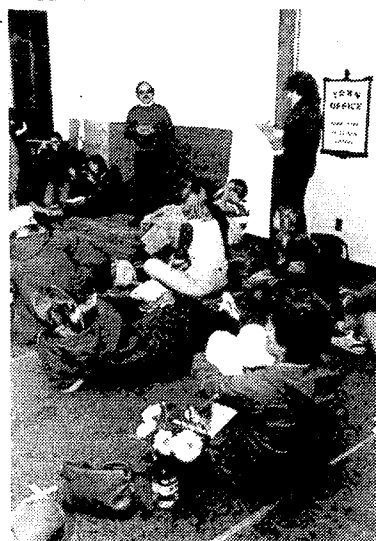
General E.E. Woellner said, "Civil defense is an essential part of our national strategy," calling it "the catalyst for a demonstration of American will." He criticized the Reagan administration's proposed \$3.4 billion civil defense budget as too small and advocated initiative efforts, much like those used by freeze backers, to build support for massive civil defense measures.

Wichita was selected as the site of the convention (just as it was recently chosen by President Reagan's Public Sector Initiative Commission) on the assumption that it offered a sanctuary far away from troublesome protestors. But TACDA members must have been quite disappointed when 30 picketers greeted them for the Friday evening session. And the next morning, while Teller spoke to an audience of 60 people, more than 100 people at a disarmament assembly heard Dr. Mary Ann Lauver warn that "there is no effective medical preparation for nuclear war except prevention."

—Stuart Elliott

Watt's firm loses in court

BOULDER, COLO.—The "public interest" law firm once headed by Secretary of Interior James Watt lost its fourth court attempt to prevent Boulder authorities from distributing an educational pamphlet about the effects of nuclear war. The firm claims it violates free speech rights of citizens who oppose disarmament.



Since the pamphlet has already been dropped off at most of the 70,000 households in the county, it is not known whether another appeal is in store. But a negative ruling for Boulder officials might affect many other community education programs.

The 16-page pamphlet is the outgrowth of grassroots antinuclear action in Boulder earlier this year. Spearheaded by the Physicians for Social Responsibility and a series of articles in a local alternative newspaper, 1,200 Boulder-area residents turned out in March for a public hearing on the local version of the federal government's crisis relocation plan (CRP). Under the plan, Boulder's population would evacuate to a small community eight miles away in the event of a nuclear attack. At that meeting the three-member board of county commissioners rejected Boulder's participation in the plan. Instead, they assigned a committee of citizens and experts to research and write a pamphlet similar to one published by the Cambridge, Mass., City Council that described the probable effects of a nuclear war on the local population. Appointed to the committee were scientists—including one who served on the Manhattan Project—as well as clergy, students, business leaders and representatives from the Colorado civil defense office and the Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA) whose job it is to promote CRP.

Although the joint effort to write and edit a pamphlet was, in the words of one participant, "excruciating and excruciatingly slow," and though some members felt the information was "watered down," most agreed the end product was valuable. The pamphlet outlines the effects

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

of an atomic blast and offers possible methods of avoiding nuclear war as well as a list of organizations and government agencies dealing with disarmament, survival and civil defense.

When the task was completed, the representatives from FEMA and the state civil defense office quit, complaining that the document was riddled with inaccuracies and failed to provide information about how residents could survive a nuclear attack. When the final draft was presented, County Commissioner Bob Jenkins, an ultra-conservative Republican, labeled the committee's work "biased propaganda." Another critic said it would contribute to drug abuse because teenagers who read it would give up hope of survival.

The other two commissioners overrode Jenkins' protests and voted to publish the pamphlet. But after it went to the printer, Mountain States Legal Foundation (MSLF) entered the fray.

Encouraged to take on the case by five Boulderites, the conservative foundation—which has successfully challenged utility rate reform and job safety measures—demanded an injunction to stop distribution of the pamphlet. MSLF argued that the county shouldn't be permitted to promote "disarmament propaganda" because not every citizen agreed with the pamphlet's contents.

But the federal district judge, John Kane, disagreed, pointing out that the pamphlet was no more biased than material distributed by the FEMA. He added that local governments aren't prohibited from "taking positions that engender political debate" as long as they do not do so with partisan intent.

—Timothy Lange

Flushing oil from sea-going ships accounts for most ocean pollution.

Oil flushing pollutes Gulf

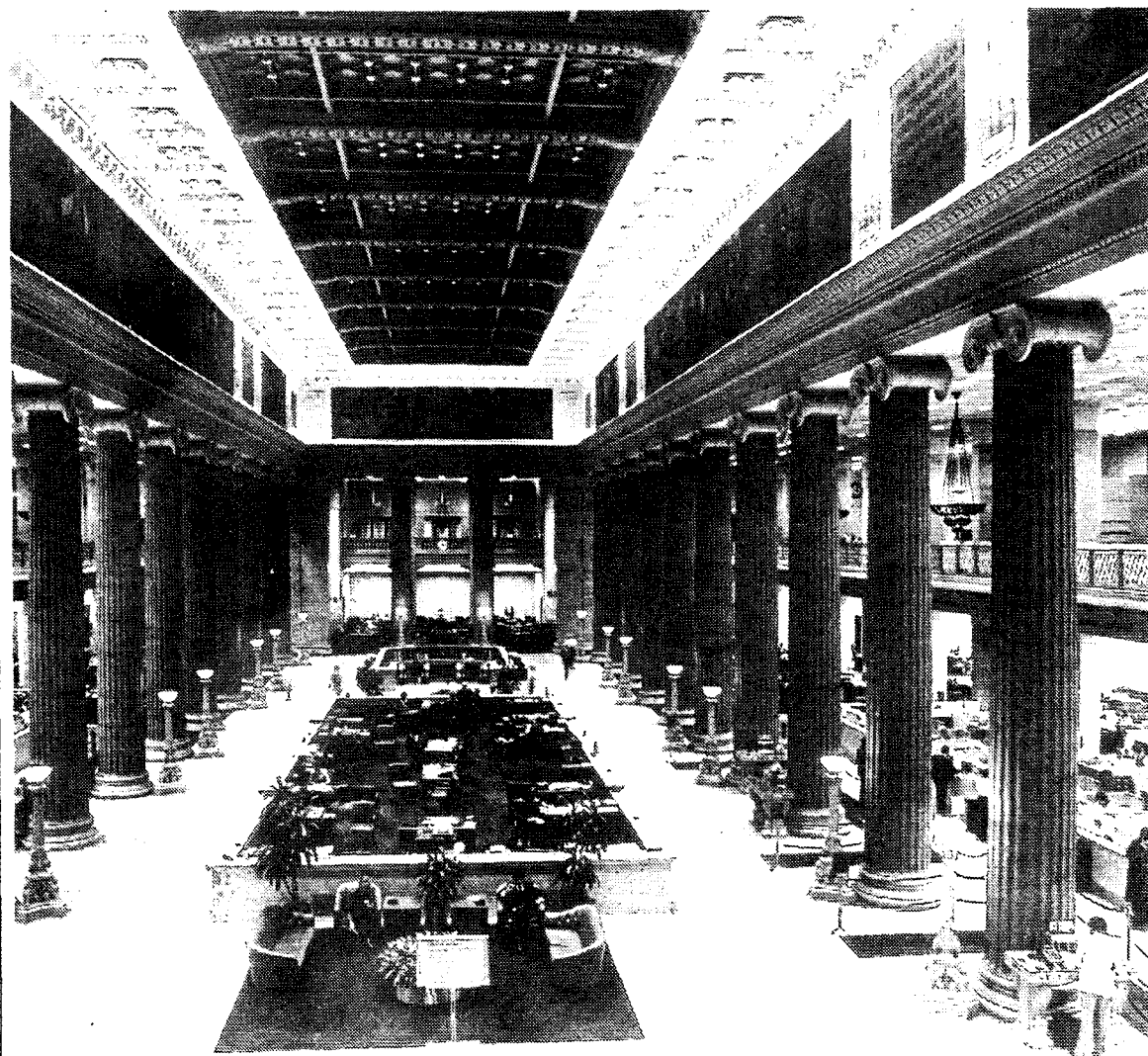
SEATTLE—Although banned by treaty, the practice of flushing oil from sea-going ships still accounts for most of the oil pollution in the world's oceans. Enforcement has proven extremely difficult, for obvious reasons, and environmentalists so far have done little to combat the problem.

The waters off Florida's gulf coast are some of the most tainted, with two to 40 times as many petroleum residues as other ocean waters, according to a two-year study sponsored by the Florida Department of Natural Resources. In spite of a 134 million gallon spill in 1979 from a blowout at a well off the shore of Mexico, researchers found that shipping traffic turned up as the main contributor of oil pollution in the gulf.

Last year Louisiana alone landed 1.2 billion pounds of fish and shellfish, topping even Alaska's catch and earning more than \$190 million. Almost every commercial fish species is vulnerable to oil pollution.

The danger of flushed and spilled oil isn't limited to floating globs that kill nearby sea creatures. Researchers have found oil submerged 150 feet below the surface away from the site of a spill. Although such diluted oil may not kill fish on contact, it can have a variety of lethal effects. Some oil-derived toxins enter the gills of fish and induce a narcotic state, dramatically increasing their vulnerability to predators. Others break down sea creatures' resistance to disease, disrupt mating and homing behavior and destroy food sources.

—Brad Warren



The book *ISSUES OF 1982* details how interstate banking and federal deregulation threaten to deprive cities and states of needed capital.

Briefing: Campaign strategies for the '80s

Imagine leftwing state assembly candidates preparing for debates with their opponents. One book they might like to have at their side is *The Issues of 1982*, assembled by Lee Webb's Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies (\$8.95; 231 pp.; available from the conference at 2000 Florida Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009). The book contains short, well-written analyses and program suggestions in such areas of state government as banking, plant closings, tax reform, criminal justice, education and block grants. The book will also be helpful to anyone who wants to think about how the Reagan administration's New Federalism can be used to aid the broad majority rather than the privileged few.

For instance, the book's section on banking details how interstate banking and federal deregulation threaten to deprive cities and states of needed loan capital. The book recommends such measures as Community Reinvestment Acts that would require banks to heed local credit needs; "linked deposit programs," in which the state would agree to deposit its funds in banks only if they used their loan capital to meet "specified public policy objectives;" state-owned public banks, and the use of state pension funds to meet credit and investment needs. Few of the programs suggested are untried—North Dakota has a state bank, for instance—but together they amount to a formidable political agenda.

But the book has two weaknesses. The most important is that it lacks an overview of the

fiscal problems that states face in a period of declining investment. The book contains countless proposals that would increase state expenditures—from pay equity and collective bargaining for all state employees to increased funding for schools, infrastructure needs and criminal rehabilitation—but little sense of how they would be paid for, except by tax increases, which can imperil a state's economy and a legislator's political longevity.

Secondly, the analyses of some policy areas simply reiterate current liberal wisdom. For instance, the approach to tuition tax credits and vouchers, which are favored by many among left legislators' working-class constituents, simply follows the line of the American Federation of Teachers—vouchers and tuition tax credits are no good, case closed. But a left legislator will have to find subtle ways to adapt the popular enthusiasm for these measures to democratic ends—for instance, sharply graduated tax credits—rather than treating them as anathema.

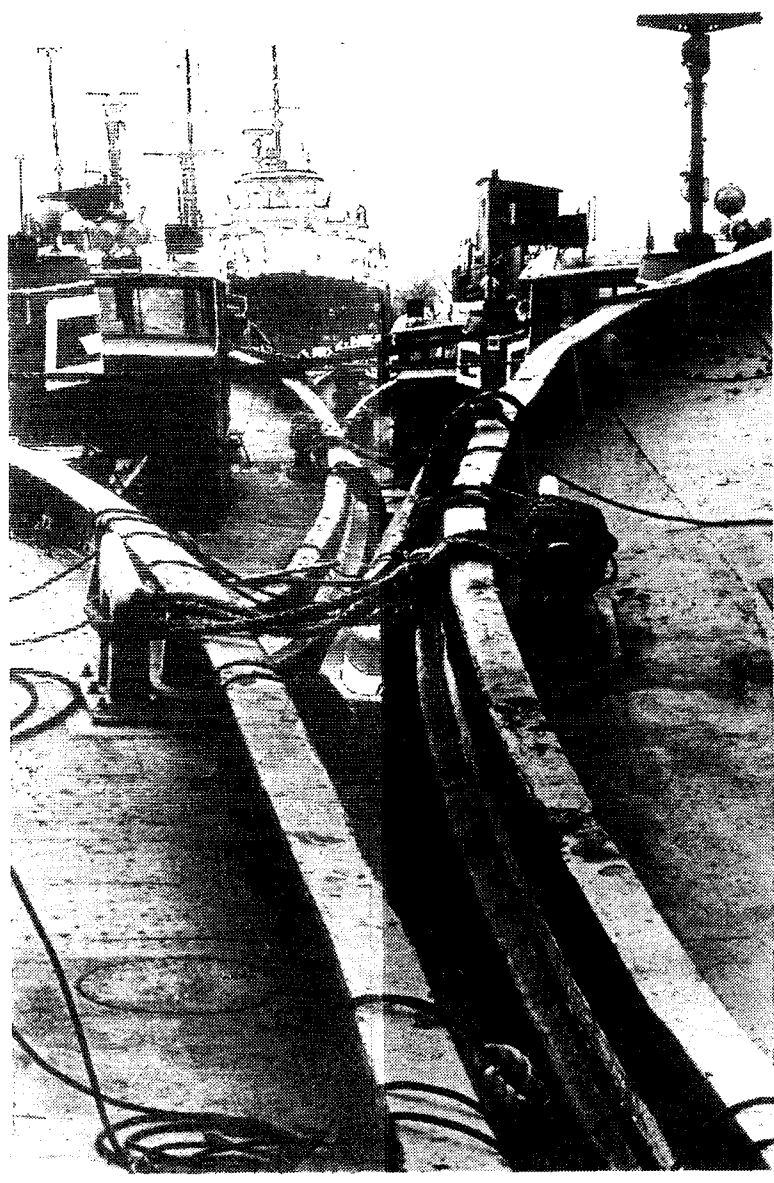
But the Conference's Briefing Book is a unique contribution to contemporary state politics, one that should be used by anyone on the left interested in making the best of the new federalism.

The Democratic Fact Book: Issues for 1982 attempts to provide national candidates what the Conference book does for state and local campaigns. Produced by Democrats for the 80's (and available for \$10 from 3038 N St., NW, Washington, D.C.), *The Democratic*

Fact Book provides statistics, quotes and polemics for attacking the Reagan administration's record. An ideological grab-bag, it squeezes together many of the liberal, neo-liberal and economic democracy trends within the party without any serious reflection on past Democratic failings or present inconsistencies (many of which are simply listed here as alternatives). But it is a useful book, not only as a reference to Reagan's record and a source of capsule summaries of various legislative alternatives but also as an indication of some potential lines of battle within the party.

Ray Marshall and a couple dozen economists associated with labor and the left-liberal wing of the Democrats offer a slightly more coherent set of economic critiques and proposals in *An Economic Strategy for the 1980's: The Failure of Reaganomics and the Full Employment Alternative* (available for \$5 from Full Employment Action Council, 815 Sixteenth St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20006). It rejects recession as a long-term solution for inflation and argues that greater government action and planning is necessary for a healthy economy. A National Economic Policy Board would also help determine macroeconomic policies (money supply, taxes and the like), thereby assuring stability as well as determining specific actions for individual industries to stimulate innovation and productivity.

—John Judis
and David Moberg



IN THE NATION

CALIFORNIA

Why Jerry Brown is talking issues

By Marcelo Rodriguez

SAN FRANCISCO

SIX YEARS AGO AN UNCONVENTIONAL young politician from California burst onto the national scene, capturing the imagination of a whole generation of voters while coming on as the "anti-political" candidate for U.S. president.

Jerry Brown was only 38 years old when he entered the final six Democratic primaries in 1976, winning five of them and defeating eventual President Jimmy Carter in all six. It was an exceptionally promising achievement for a man who had been governor of California for less than two years. Things were looking up for Jerry Brown.

In 1978, Brown was re-elected as governor, winning by more than a million votes against former California Attorney General Evelle Younger. Brown's stunning victory in 1978 was all the more remarkable because most of the other statewide seats up for grabs at the time were captured by Republicans.

But the tide shifted. Brown began running for the presidency again immediately following his re-election.

This time, the magic was gone. Unlike his campaign in 1976, Brown gave the media plenty of opportunity to look at his record this time around. And because he was off and running before anyone else, the media did just that.

It reported that behind the Brown image there was little substance. So the Jerry Brown image firmly imprinted in the nation's political psyche was that of a space cadet—not the stuff from which presidents are made.

After losing every presidential primary he entered, Brown returned to California. Nationally, his popularity was at an all-time low. In California, it was even lower. Brown's conservative critics from both parties took jabs at him, hoping to win "Brownie" points. The governor, however, didn't help his own cause. He appointed a former felon to a vacant county seat in one community and was strongly blasted up and down the state.

The Democrat-dominated state legislature started overriding his gubernatorial vetoes on a regular basis. His handling of the Mediterranean fruit fly was less than deft politically. He managed to upset the state's agricultural interests by stalling the aerial spraying of malathion in medfly infested areas. Then he irked environmentalists when he ordered malathion spraying after losing a power struggle with the Reagan White House.

It was no secret that Jerry Brown would not seek re-election for a third time. Word leaked out early in 1981 that the governor would probably try to go after the only California politician more vulnerable than he is—U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa—the next year. An eventual battle between California's two most unpopular politicians for one of the state's highest political offices began shaping up.

But Brown had a big advantage over Hayakawa. While the governor entered the Democratic primary knowing he would win (his most notable opponent being author Gore Vidal), Hayakawa faced a tough field of Republican opponents for his party's nomination. Eventually, Hayakawa dropped out of the primary. Out of the Republican blood-bath

that ensued, Pete Wilson, mayor of San Diego, emerged as the Republican candidate.

Image problems.

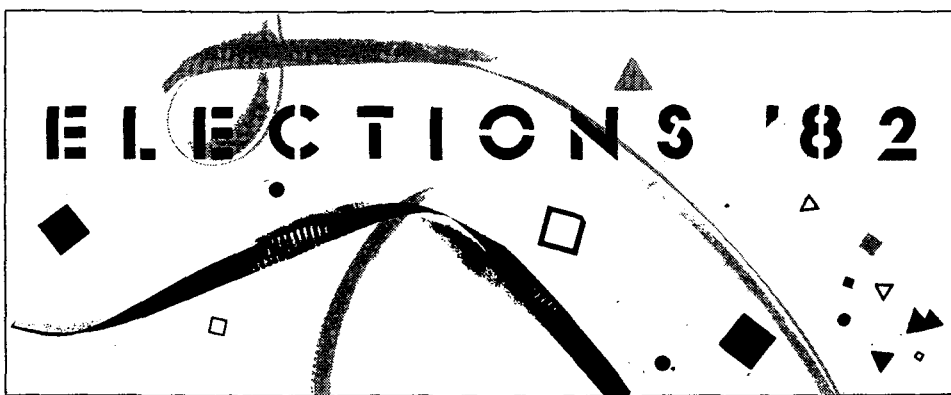
Polls conducted soon after California's primary showed Brown trailing Wilson by a seemingly insurmountable 22 points among the state's decided voters. The Brown image was faltering—and badly. Democratic candidates for other statewide offices tried to distance themselves from the controversial governor. Even Democratic gubernatorial candidate Tom Bradley, mayor of Los Angeles, criticized Brown's tenure as governor so as not to be seen as a "Brownie." Democratic strategists privately predicted a Democratic sweep in November with the exception of a Republican win in the Senate race.

That's when the Brown campaign started rolling. Brown's advisors worked on the assumption that Wilson's substantial edge in the polls reflected a negative attitude toward Brown rather than a positive one toward Wilson. Brown's pollsters had found during the primary that blue-collar support for the governor was sorely missing. And he needed this voting bloc to win.

Brown's early TV spots emphasized Wilson's support for Ronald Reagan's economic plan. Instead of trying to win back working-class affection by expressing his past support for labor, Brown did something unexpected, even for him—he admitted he had lost labor support.

Brown's first TV spot featured a worker on a lunch break in front of a food truck—sleeves rolled up to the elbows and coffee steam billowing up to his face from the styrofoam cup in his hand. When asked who he planned to vote for in the Senate race, the man replies, "Not Jerry Brown." The announcer then describes Wilson, detailing his call for cuts in Social Security. The man grimaces. "Cut Social Security—he wants to cut Social Security?" he asks. "No, that's not right. You know, this whole Reagan economic program is unfair. Maybe I will take another look at Jerry Brown."

Many people must have taken another look because by early September, Brown had cut Wilson's advantage by half—to



11 points.

Then Wilson came to Brown's rescue. *San Diego Newsline*, a weekly alternative paper that had taken on Wilson in his hometown, revealed that he was being flown around the state in corporate-owned jets to make his campaign appearances. Later, it was revealed that Wilson had been living rent-free for more than a year in an apartment provided by a developer close to the mayor. Then, it became public that Wilson did not pay any taxes for 1981.

All this contrasted sharply with the frugal Brown image—visions of a Plymouth sedan and a modest apartment in

Sacramento still vivid in voters' minds. It was as if Brown could put his campaign on hold and let Wilson carry the ball. By early October, the polls showed that Brown had pulled ahead of Wilson by two points.

As of press time, Wilson was beginning to show the strains of a candidate on the way to defeat. His campaign strategy had shifted. Instead of focusing on his own virtues, Wilson was blasting Brown every chance he got. Brown's judicial appointments "have been so bad," Wilson charged in an October 11 debate, "they've made the streets of this state unsafe." Other Wilson tactics included charges that Brown has been a free-spending governor who "will leave the state billions of dollars in debt" at the end of his term. Wilson's desperation tactics also tried to paint Brown as a friend of "radicals" such as Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda.

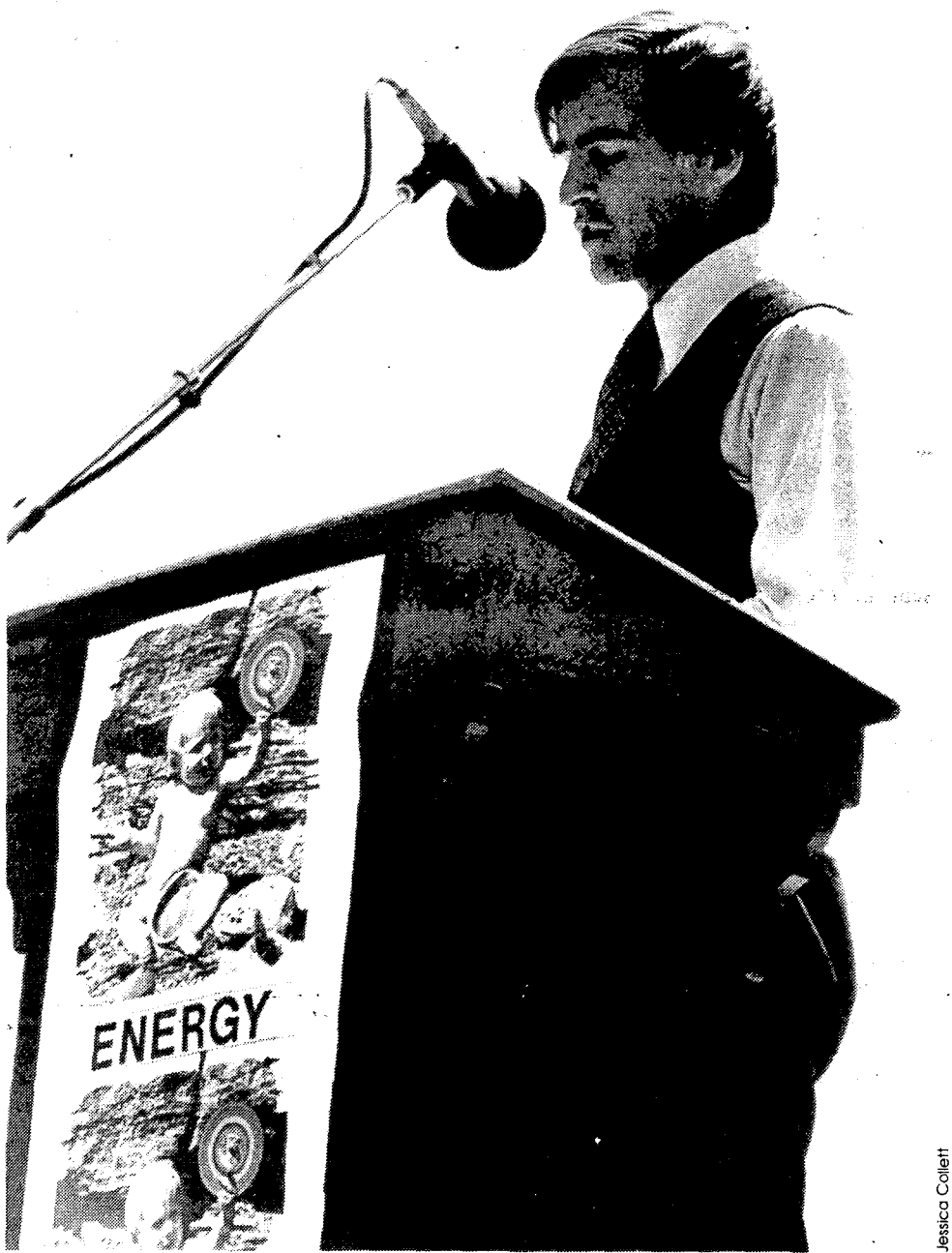
As of mid-October, the predominant mood among Democratic Party strategists was that Brown would win handily.

Senate candidate Jerry Brown has discarded the "small is beautiful" approach in favor of one stressing strong governmental planning.

campaign to pass the advisory nuclear weapons freeze initiative on California's November ballot. He also favors a handgun registration initiative on the ballot. He has been unequivocal in his critique of Reaganomics, saying "the real issue is whether to ratify the disastrous economic policies of these last two years."

He has also discarded the "small is beautiful" approach in favor of one stressing strong governmental planning. His recognition that high-technology is the state's most viable industry has led him to call for a government role in directing capital investment to the promising industry.

Brown has beaten Wilson to the punch on what has historically been a Republican issue—defense. He has called for an increased U.S. military presence in Western Europe while simultaneously calling for a reduction in nuclear warheads. He has, however, called for the deployment of the California-built B-1 bomber, an expensive airplane designed to carry nuclear missiles. The governor contends



Jessica Collett

that the B-1 can be retrofitted for conventional purposes in the event of a "mutually verifiable agreement on nuclear arms reduction," between the U.S. and the USSR.

Although many Californians on the left have disagreed with Brown in the past and have problems with some of his current positions, they believe he would be a better senator than governor. "Brown's problem as governor is that he is not particularly adept as an administrator," says Assemblyman Tom Bates, a member of the state legislature's small left contingency. "He appointed more women and minorities than anyone before him. He has been a good friend of the environmentalists. He has an uncanny sense of where people are and where they are going."

"Conceptually, Brown is strong. Administratively, he is less so. As a senator, he will have an excellent platform to present his views. Many 'progressives' had problems with Brown as governor, but I predict these same people will consider him to be a great senator."

Marcelo Rodriguez is a former political reporter for the San Francisco Bay Guardian.

IN THESE TIMES OCTOBER 20-26, 1982 7

registration drive that upped the Democratic edge over Republicans in the district to better than two-to-one. Although he seems to have a lock on the election, Hayden is still reaching for every possible advantage. Mindful of the fact that one out of four people in the district is Jewish, Hayden has stressed his support for the Israeli government. He even went on a "fact-finding trip" to Israel and Israeli-occupied Lebanon in the middle of this summer's invasion. Hayden's trip came shortly after the Santa Monica City Council passed a resolution expressing general support for Israel. Hayden apparently had nothing to do with the resolution, which originated with a conservative Jewish group. However, city council member Bill Jennings feels the timing of the resolution "almost seemed to be orchestrated" to coincide with Hayden's trip.

Steve Rivers denies that the resolution or Hayden's trip stirred up much controversy among Hayden's supporters or within CED. But one source close to the campaign says there has been "considerable dissent" within Hayden's left constituency. Despite this, one Santa Monica leftist predicts that "a lot of people will vote for him and hold their nose."

Both third party candidates in the campaign characterize Hayden's trip as an obvious attempt to woo the Jewish vote. "He's done everything except get himself circumcised," says Libertarian Party candidate Ed Wolford. Peace & Freedom candidate Jack Hampton points out that "Hayden himself" said he went to Lebanon because there were so many Jewish voters in the 44th district.

Hampton and Wolford are by far the most colorful candidates in the cam-



Tom Hayden's wife, Jane Fonda, has helped him raise one of the largest campaign funds on record for a state assembly seat.

Tom Hayden courts voters

By Paul Glickman

OAKLAND, CA

WHENTOM HAYDEN LOOKS in the mirror each morning, he comes face to face with the main challenge to his bid for a seat in the California state assembly. Running against unknown opponents in one of the state's most liberal districts, Hayden is striving to prove he has completed his conversion from radical to liberal Democrat.

While not deserting the program espoused by his Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), Hayden the 44th assembly district candidate bears little resemblance to Hayden the SDS co-founder who stood trial for inciting a riot at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago. But Hayden's Republican opponent, insurance agent Bill Hawkins, is doing his best to remind everyone of Hayden's past. Hawkins says Hayden and CED want to erode the free enterprise system. "Tom Hayden is ideologically out of step with the Democratic Party," says Hawkins. "I'm a moderate Republican with a middle-of-the-road philosophy."

Hayden campaign aide Steve Rivers says Hawkins is not telling the truth. Rivers calls Hawkins "a manufactured candidate. He's entirely bankrolled and programmed by conservative elements of the Republican Party." Hawkins counters that most of his money comes from individuals and small businesses. The two candidates together have already spent \$1 million, an incredible amount for an assembly contest, with Hayden outspending Hawkins better than two-to-one.

The 44th assembly district encompasses West Los Angeles, the coastal area of Malibu and Pacific Palisades and the city of Santa Monica. Half the district's residents are renters, and in Santa Monica a grassroots coalition, including CED, elected a pro-rent control majority to the city council last year. Hayden's tardy identification with the drive for rent control has won him important allies; the entire council majority has endorsed him.

Bill Hawkins says he supports the right of cities to enact rent control. Hayden says the Republican candidate is being deceptive, pointing to a landlord group's endorsement of Hawkins. Hawkins' options on this issue are limited, however, because as one political observer notes, "In this town it's political suicide to be

against rent control."

Hayden has also won the endorsements of many labor unions, as well as teachers' and women's groups. And while some Democratic Party regulars are squeamish about having Hayden join their team, several important party members have endorsed him.

Hayden's effort to broaden his base of support while not alienating his followers on the left is evident in his campaign literature, where promises to "make free enterprise work" are found alongside calls for an oil severance tax to improve California's schools. On the question of street crime, Hayden combines support for neighborhood-watch programs and escort services with a call for more police on the streets.

Hawkins has two strikes against him. He's a political unknown running against a well-known opponent with a movie star wife, and he's a Republican in a heavily Democratic district. While hammering away at what he perceives to be Hayden's socialist leanings, Hawkins has publicly agreed with Hayden on many issues, such as women's rights, the right of poor women to state-funded abortions and environmental protection. Yet Hawkins differs with Hayden on the death penalty—since he favors it and Hayden is

The two candidates together have already spent \$1 million, with Hayden outspending Hawkins more than two-to-one.

against it.

Hawkins' campaign has suffered some serious setbacks. First, the far-right National Conservative Political Action Committee offered to campaign for Hawkins. This gesture was a crippling blow to someone trying to forge a "moderate" image.

The second blow dealt to Hawkins was the resignation of campaign aide Darrel Whitman. Whitman charged that Hawkins "is being used" by right-wing interests. He claimed Hawkins is "deceiving the voters about [Hayden's] true positions" and is "knowingly and deliberately distorting Hayden's positions on the issues." Hawkins notes that Whitman's resignation letter reads almost like a Hayden commercial. "I can't prove it," says Hawkins, "but I suspect that Whitman was a plant from the Hayden camp." The Hayden campaign denies any connection to Whitman.

To compound Hawkins' troubles, Hayden supporters mounted a massive voter-

paign. Wolford espouses the traditional Libertarian philosophy, opposing any government role in people's lives. He opposes the income tax, rent control and gun control, and he favors turning the state's legislature into a part-time institution. Wolford opposes welfare, especially "welfare for the rich," such as tax loopholes and legislation favorable to corporations.

Hampton says he's running on the issue of "survival—personal and economic." He blames higher crime rates on rising unemployment, he "completely supports" rent control, thinks some defense dollars should be spent on education and opposes gun control.

When all is said and done and the votes are counted on November 2, Tom Hayden should emerge victorious. As one political observer notes, "If Hayden can't win in this district, he's dead politically."

Paul Glickman is a research associate at the Center for Investigative Reporting.

Philip Burton is no. 1 on Reagan's hit list

By Louise Billotte

SAN FRANCISCO

IT'S GENERALLY AGREED HERE that if Democratic incumbent Rep. Philip Burton can convince voters that a vote for liberal Republican Milton Marks is a vote for the Reagan administration, he can win. But California's recent voter reapportionment, designed by Burton himself, is making him run harder than ever in his 18 years in office.

Burton, one of the most powerful members of Congress, is also one of the most liberal. "Phil doesn't just vote right," says Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), "his gut responses are good." Dellums, who is in the middle of his own re-election campaign, has committed himself to a Burton victory. So have the Sierra

Club, local and national labor groups and just about all the other traditionally Democratic constituencies for whom Burton's re-election has become a cause.

Columnist Jack Anderson has called Burton, author of a series of wilderness preservation bills, one of the "most effective" members of Congress. *The Wall Street Journal* called him a "legislative titan." Several years ago Burton failed to be elected House Majority Leader by one vote. Currently he is in line to succeed House Speaker Tip O'Neill.

For obvious reasons, then, President Reagan has reportedly made Burton's defeat his number one priority for the November elections. So have the National Chamber of Commerce's Political Alliance and the conservative Congressional Committee. And Vice-President George Bush, Secretary of the Interior James Watt and former Secretary of State Alex-

ander Haig have supported Marks, the man polls have shown could beat Burton.

Marks has spent the last 15 years in the State Senate, to which he was elected with both Republican and Democratic support. But in his bid for Burton's seat, almost all his support comes from corporate and conservative PACs, not from the labor and community groups that supported him in the past. "If Milton Marks were running in Houston," a spokesperson for the Business Industry PAC commented in the *Wall Street Journal*, "he'd get about four pennies." But Marks is running in San Francisco and his conservative support comes despite his liberal stands on the environment and labor and his support for the nuclear freeze campaign.

It looks as if Marks has at least an even chance of getting to Washington. Early polls showed him ahead of Burton. More recent polls show Burton leading slightly, but between 20 percent and 25 percent of voters are undecided, perhaps indicating they are less than satisfied with Burton.

Ironically, Burton may become the victim of his own backroom brilliance. He designed a major reapportionment

Continued on the following page

NOW

Continued from page 2

hundreds of women carrying placards that read "The Goldsmith Team."

But the image of excitement—conjuring up street actions of the past perhaps—was too much for some delegates. They said they were "nervous" about Johnson's swift switch from a fundamental church to feminism in just a few years. "I'm afraid she'll turn off ordinary people, like me," a new member from Indianapolis said. She had joined NOW, she explained, "because of Ronald Reagan." But all this talk about gay rights, she said, was hard to live with in a small city or town, even if NOW's national conferences did firmly support gay rights.

Yet Johnson did have the support of delegates such as Theresa Bergen, president of NOW's New York state organization. "I don't think she is more radical than Judy Goldsmith—I just think she has the image to match our radical theories."

On the floor of the conference, however, talk of political victory overshadowed ideology. One delegate argued: "We've got to realize we can't find perfect candidates every time, and we have to be willing to give ideology a lower priority if we're going to beat people like Jesse Helms and other right-wingers."

But there were delegates who wondered about the future. Where was NOW going? If it was committed to recruiting a million members by 1992, could it also remain "the cutting edge of the women's movement" as it once called itself?

There were no answers in Indianapolis.

On Sunday morning, the ballots were counted. For young delegates such as, Jamie Mills of Connecticut, who is 23 and had never before attended a national NOW conference, it was an exhausting but not disappointing weekend. By a margin of almost two-to-one, delegates had selected Goldsmith as NOW's next president. The final tally gave her 1,137 votes to Johnson's 705. After her victory, Goldsmith's rhetoric toughened immediately. NOW, she said in her first press conference, would become "one of the most powerful independent political action organizations in the country."

But as she spoke, some delegates expressed sadness that the mesmerizing rhetoric and those hints of a more radical future—Johnson's contribution to the weekend—were missing.

Both Johnson's supporters and opponents had agreed her election would have represented at least the image of a swing to more radical politics, street actions and confrontational tactics. But was it illusion? Some NOW members suspected it might have been, just as the DeCrow promise—to carry NOW into the revolution—never happened.

It is hard indeed to take on Ronald Reagan, recruit a million members, challenge the electoral system and also shape

a genuine revolution at the same time.

Perhaps it was the extent of Johnson's support that was the real surprise of the NOW conference. That she had joined NOW so recently and yet drew the support of more than one-third of the delegates was seen as significant.

It was a reflection of unrest and anger in the NOW ranks, many delegates said. "There are a lot of people here who want to be assured that their anger will be mobilized," said a delegate from Illinois. But an Atlanta delegate commented, "When you're trying to gear up for political action, it's not the time to turn off a lot of middle-of-the-road women."

So much for revolutionary illusion.

Burton

Continued from previous page

of California's congressional districts and pressured a reluctant legislature to adopt it. But the redistricting left Burton with a whiter, more affluent and conservative district than before. Under the new plan, 40 percent of the voters are new to him.

Burton recently explained his reapportionment plan to a group of environmentalists as "the only redistricting ever that had as its priority environmental protection." He added that "mountain counties were linked with urban areas whose internal dynamics would assure that lumber and mining interests would

Jamie Mills was satisfied with the outcome. She had joined NOW last year and served as a volunteer in the last-ditch unsuccessful drive to ratify the ERA in Florida. Now she is thinking about going to law school. She found Johnson's message touching, especially when she talked of reaching the hearts and souls of women.

But, Mills reflected, "political action is not Sonia's strong point—and that's what NOW will be pursuing in the next three years." Mills paused for a moment, and then added, "Sonia Johnson ought to be president of something."

David Behrens is a staff writer for *Newsday* specializing in issues of social change.

no longer dominate." And in San Francisco, "where everyone's an environmentalist," Burton's fervent concern for wilderness preservation could win the election for him.

Not too long ago, some voters were angry about his involvement in redistricting—something they thought was none of his business. Republicans contend that Burton's plan divided the districts to elect more Democrats. In particular, he's been criticized for the way he redesigned San Francisco's districts. The critics claim the redistricting was intended to help re-elect his brother, Rep. John Burton, who then surprised everyone with his decision not to seek re-election. What was to have been John's district will probably be carried easily by liberal Marin County supervisor Barbara Boxer, who had no trouble defeating conservative San Francisco Supervisor Louise Renne in the primaries.

Whatever Burton's motive in designing the reapportionment, however, the maneuver has given the Marks campaign its major theme—Burton's "arrogance of power." Generally reluctant to challenge Burton on issues, Marks is instead charging that Burton is more concerned with his career than with the needs of his district.

But Burton supporters respect the man who they say consistently comes through for them. "Burton is there when we need him," says Nancy Walker, a left-leaning member of the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors. "Milton Marks doesn't understand power and never did anything with the power he has," charged Supervisor Harry Britt, socialist and gay activist.

Burton's supporters also scoff at charges that he's a machine politician. "I run with Phil's support," said Nancy Walker, "and he's never asked for anything in return."

According to a local journalist, "there's machinery, but it's not a machine."

Burton's biggest drawback may be his reputation for rarely being in San Francisco. Unlike Marks, who mingles easily with crowds, Burton seems uncomfortable shaking hands and asking for votes. Marks, on the other hand, "will show up at anyone and everyone's wedding, bar mitzvah, christening or cocktail party," quips the Sierra Club's John Hooper.

It's possible that Marks' gladhanding is his biggest asset. "If the elections were held tomorrow," said a San Francisco politico and precinct walker for Burton, "Marks would win. People say, 'I know him, I've met him.'"

But Marks has not distinguished himself as a legislator in Sacramento, where his reputation as a liberal Republican has isolated him from people in both parties. "Milton Marks is a joiner, a me-too legislator," charged Burton-supporter Assemblyman Art Agnos. "He does not have a bad environmental record," says Hooper, "but Marks is not perceived as a leader."

Burton, on the other hand, has the endorsement of just about every organized constituency in the city from the Police Officers Association to the Labor Council (which endorsed him 50 to 1) to both feuding Gay Democratic Clubs, to the local Democratic Socialists of America. Nevertheless, Marks does, as his campaign asserts, have grassroots support from many of these groups.

Louise Billotte reports for *Berkeley's KPFA Radio* and *California Public Radio*.

What Reagan Should Know . . . But Doesn't Find Out In THE NEW REPUBLIC

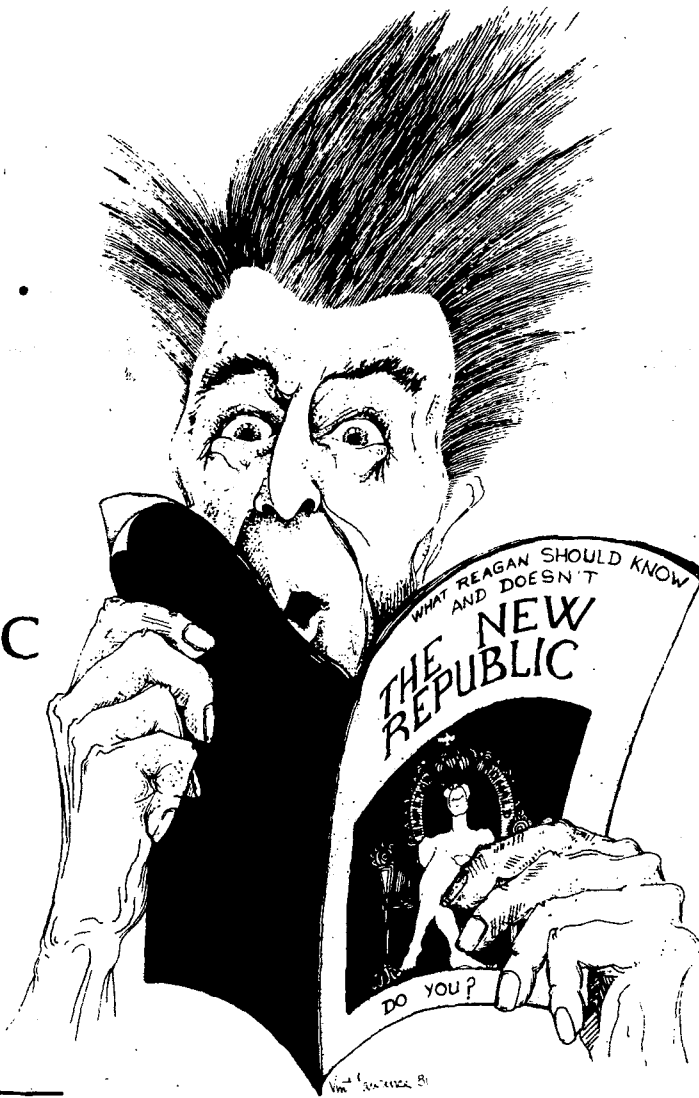
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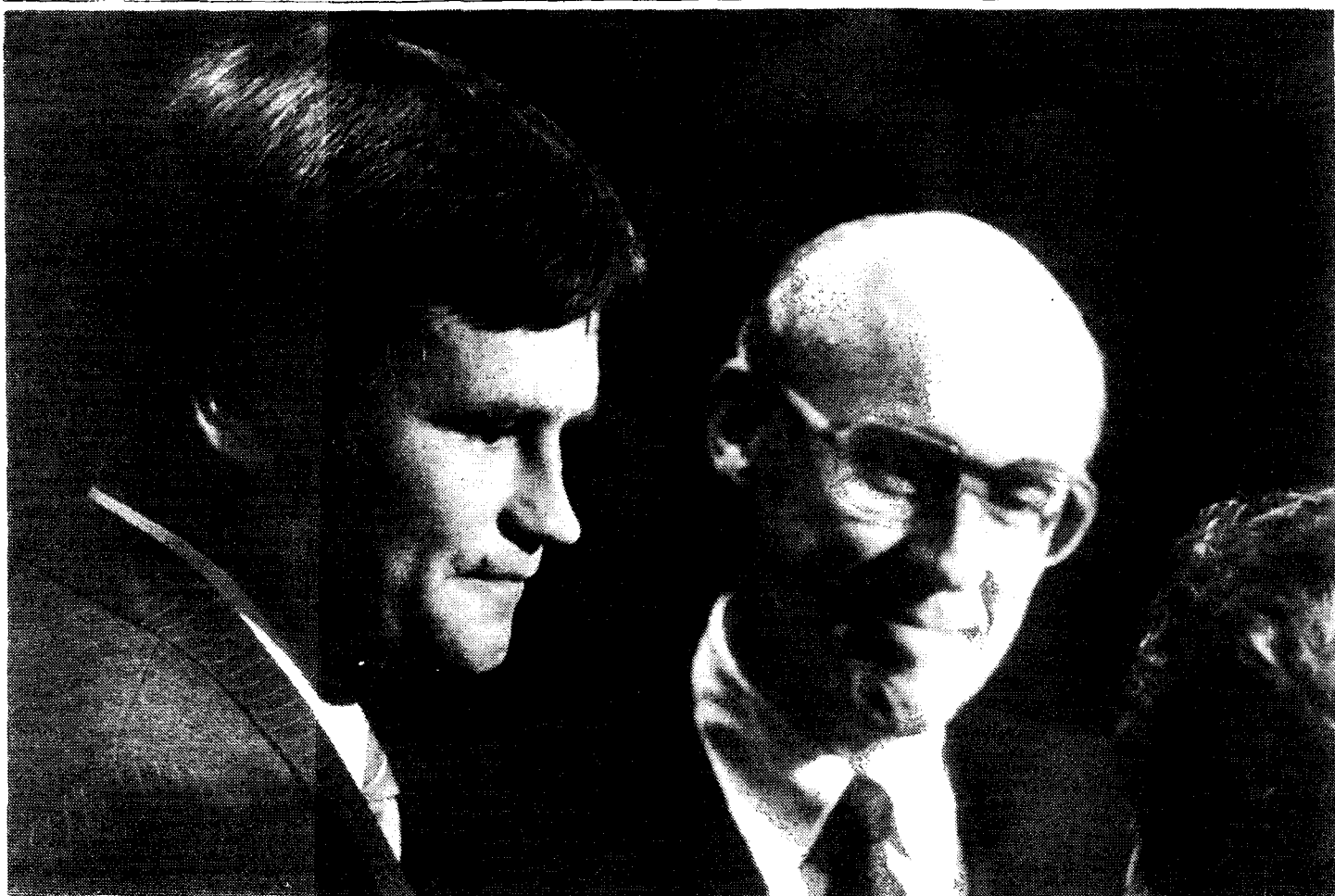
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ILLINOIS



Democratic candidate Lane Evans (left) and Republican State Senator Kenneth McMillan (center) are facing off in a district where unemployment is officially at 14 to 17 percent in most of the cities.

Hard times may cause upset

By David Moberg

GALESBURG, ILL.

SINCE THE RICH PRAIRIE SOILS of this region of western Illinois were first broken in the early 19th century, the sturdy, independent people who settled here have managed most of that time to earn a steady, if unspectacular, living from their hard work. First it was on their farms and in their shops, later from the factories and railroads that absorbed farmers displaced from the land as agricultural operations expanded in size.

And since the time of Abraham Lincoln, when many of these settlers were impassioned opponents of slavery and its extension, they have voted overwhelmingly Republican, even as that party's meaning has changed many times.

This year things are different. For the first time since the Great Depression, a national economic slump has hit the area with a vengeance. As farmers drive their pickers through the vast golden-brown fields of corn this fall, they are harvesting a bumper crop of hardship. Although it costs them on the average \$2.75 to produce a bushel of corn, the grain elevators are offering them less than \$2 a bushel.

In the factories of Rock Island, Moline, Canton, Galesburg and Peoria (which is just outside the southeastern edge of the 17th congressional district), this farm crisis—plus a U.S.-led world recession, a presidential embargo on pipeline equipment for the Soviet Union and depression in construction by private and public builders—has devastated the workers at International Harvester, John Deere, Caterpillar and their many suppliers.

Throughout the district other factories are shutting down, often fleeing to the cheaper and non-union labor of the South or overseas. Small-business owners report sales down as much as two-thirds. Unemployment is officially at 14 to 17 percent in most cities of the area.

Young people are sadly abandoning family ties and communities to flee elsewhere, draining population and markets for local business, precipitating wholesale closing of schools and creating worries about the future of the area. Eventually some of them do return, discouraged by what they do not find elsewhere.

Underneath this grim picture is a threat of greater difficulties if hard times persist. Farmers who have been paying 15

percent or more for loans to buy expensive machinery—\$80,000 for a tractor and \$100,000 for a combine that might last 10 years—and expensive farmland are often barely able to make payments, and some small banks teeter on the edge of collapse.

Rapid deflation has suddenly taken its toll: farmland that would have sold for \$2,500 to \$3,000 an acre a couple of years ago might now sell for \$1,500 to \$2,000. The homes of factory workers and the middle class in the \$40,000 to \$90,000 range now sit unsold for an average of six to seven months rather than 90 days, and then often sell only with substantial discounts. Much of the wealth that middle-income families thought they were accumulating with homes and land has thus been wiped out.

Although worried business owners remain plucky about the future, and the hardship does not show as it does in devastated big cities, workers in the area are increasingly bitter and discouraged. Gary Lybarger, 40, had worked 10 years at Galesburg's Outboard Marine Corporation factory when he was permanently laid off last spring after the company chopped 800 jobs and moved operations to Mississippi, Mexico and Hong Kong. "I haven't been very successful," he said recently of his search for a job. "There isn't much out there. Can't be too particular: I'd take anything now. But I'm

Ultra-conservative Kenneth McMillan is facing a tough fight from former legal aid attorney Lane Evans.

more pessimistic, really. I suppose a person should keep his head up, but it's kind of hard to."

Such unaccustomed austerity is only one of the reasons that Democrats think they have an unusually good opportunity this year to reverse the venerable voting traditions of the district (the only Democratic member of Congress since the 1860s slipped in briefly during the Johnson landslide of 1964).

The new congressional district is less Republican than the old (an estimated 52 percent compared with as much as 60 percent previously). And the moderate Republican Tom Railsback, who represented the district since 1966 with only token opposition and usually with substantial union backing, was defeated in the primary by ultra-conservative State Senator Kenneth McMillan. With New Right money and support, McMillan attacked Railsback from the right on economic and social issues. Drawing on strong rural support when primary turnout was light and taking advantage of both Railsback's bumbling campaigning and accumulated weaknesses (voting for congressional pay increases, a hint of involvement in a minor scandal and loss in redistricting of crucial supporters), McMillan squeaked by the incumbent.

As a Republican who had previously represented a largely rural portion of the district, a former lobbyist for the Farm Bureau and a speechwriter for Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, McMillan, 40, has an image as a knowledgeable advocate for farm interests, as well as near perfect ratings from business and conservative groups in the state. A part-time sheep farmer with a master's degree in agricultural economics, McMillan, a near look-alike to Interior Secretary James Watt, is an intelligent, articulate and well-informed defender of the virtually unrestrained rights of private property and the sanctity of the market.

But in a surprise to nearly everyone, McMillan is in serious trouble. The Democrats have fielded a strong candidate, 31-year-old former legal aid attorney

people can't buy anything if they don't have money. People are losing their homes."

Labor unions have poured out dollars and effort that are unprecedented in the district. McMillan is anathema to them. He favors a federal right-to-work law (prohibiting union shops), opposes the Davis-Bacon act (requiring federal construction projects to pay the prevailing wage in an area), and opposes requirements that public employers negotiate with employees. He also sympathizes with extending the Hobbs Act (on obstructing interstate commerce) to unions, favors exemptions of small businesses from occupational safety and health regulations and supports a sub-minimum wage for youth. (Actually, he says, "I personally have never believed in the minimum wage," but he doubts it could be eliminated.)

In addition, union leaders find him totally closed to them. One business agent tells how he met McMillan at a reception. Everything went smoothly until the union official identified himself. Then McMillan abruptly turned and walked away. But it is not so easy to ignore union households, which make up an estimated one-third of the district. Farmers, on the other hand, constitute roughly one-eighth of the population.

Evans supporters have also tried to register numbers of minorities (about 20 percent of Rock Island's population) and students. Nearly 4,000 new voters registered in Rock Island County, over 1,500 in Macomb (home of Western Illinois University) and 1,200 in Galesburg (where Knox College is located). Most of those are considered likely Evans votes. For students there's a strong contrast between the two on support for education grants and loans. For minorities, there's the threat of McMillan's desire to cut Medicaid, eliminate legal services and put caps on all social spending other than social security and veterans' benefits.

Evans is also making significant inroads among Republicans and he hopes to push

Continued on the following page

Illinois' 17th Congressional District



Illinois

Continued from the previous page

that progress farther when John Anderson, who had substantial support in the district in 1980, campaigns for him later this month. Many liberal-to-moderate Republicans are turned off by McMillan's determined opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to abortion. With regard to the ERA, McMillan says, "I don't believe the federal government should get into private decision-making. If you want to discriminate in a private decision or if I want to, I really don't think the government has any role in making that kind of a judgment on a sex-discrimination case."

Evans defended the Supreme Court's decision on a woman's right to an abortion. Speaking to a large crowd at his old Catholic high school, he told how as a legal aid attorney he had advised two women not to have abortions. One did, the other didn't.

"That changed my attitude," he explained. "Here I am more or less dictating what they do because of my background. I came to the conclusion that it should be an individual's choice."

McMillan's identification with the far right has driven many Republicans to Evans, including Rialback's 24-year-old daughter Kathy. She is like many Republican women "who feel the party has left them," she says. "Lane is the real moderate. McMillan is the extremist. I think he definitely falls into the category of the New Right."

Dennis Norling, a Republican bank attorney in Rock Island who once bought cans of Gold Water and voted for Rialback in the primary, is now working for

Evans. "McMillan is fueled by out-of-state money, NCPAC money, and those people scare me," he says. "I don't want to live in a country run by the Moral Majority."

McMillan also loses Norling's Republican co-worker Gerald Saunders, who sees him as an "arch-conservative" opposed to his ecological views. McMillan, for example, favors weakening the Clean Air Act to permit burning coal without requiring scrubbers. Evans argues for strong environmental protection and criticizes nuclear power and waste policies.

Ron Harms, a Republican who has held the Galesburg assessor office for 10 years, said, "I'd have to say I'm leaning toward Evans. When McMillan was running for Senate, I was one of his biggest campaigners. I know rural needs are great, but to what extent do you go for that one industry? Evans is better for the needs of the people overall." Other local Republican leaders who supported McMillan privately expressed reservations about his extreme conservatism and lack of sympathy for urban needs.

There is still a deep reservoir of support for Reagan's policies in this region, to be sure, even among business people who are personally hurting financially. Many are willing to give the president a year or two—some even until the late '80s—to prove himself.

But McMillan's campaign, more heavily financed but less well organized than that of Evans (who has so far received not a penny from the Democratic National Committee), appears to have read the trends as well. In the past month or so, McMillan has been quickly attempting to craft a more moderate image, even when that means retreating from previous positions. At a recent meeting of the Older Americans for Elderly Rights and the Moline American Legion Hall, McMillan

signed a pledge that he would never support cuts in Medicare and Social Security. Yet his campaign staff was still distributing a press packet that included an earlier interview in which McMillan supported Medicare cuts.

After castigating all government interference in farming, McMillan also has come around in recent months to support a program of paid diversions of cropland to reduce production and raise prices. Evans had supported such diversions earlier, which got him mild support from the several small farm groups other than the Farm Bureau.

Squaring off.

But Evans and McMillan square off on a number of issues:

- Evans supports automobile local-content legislation, which McMillan attacks as provoking retaliation against the area's farm and equipment exports;
- Evans wants to retain price controls on natural gas, which McMillan would lift;
- Evans would defer the third-year Kemp-Roth tax cut and institute tax reforms to stop business loopholes and to make a simplified, four-step tax system for individuals, while McMillan favors the tax cuts and would tolerate \$70-90 billion in deficits per year that Evans attacks as interfering with economic recovery;
- Evans, unlike McMillan, supports a bilateral nuclear freeze;
- Evans would cut aid to human rights violators—such as in El Salvador—whereas McMillan supports U.S. policy there;
- Evans proposes federal aid to housing and a WPA-style jobs program to deal immediately with unemployment, but McMillan emphasizes faith in the administration's supply-side doctrines.

Neither candidate tries to make the race a referendum on Reagan, even though that is probably uppermost in voters' minds. Evans often runs against not only the Republicans but also the Democratic policies of the past, emphasizing instead his solutions for the future. Part of that may be good politics: Identifying with "liberal big-spending" wouldn't go over well in western Illinois.

Yet it also represents Evans' convictions that Democratic welfare policies created a dependency on the state, and instead government should act to guarantee jobs and make sure that income is sufficiently well-distributed that many programs now needed—like school lunch aid—are no longer necessary. "I'm a tough target to hit because I'm not for all the New Deal trip," he says. "People don't want handouts. They want opportunity."

Feeling more comfortable with labels like populist, progressive or economic democrat rather than liberal or even neo-liberal, Evans often evokes conservative values but with left implications.

For example, he argues for a balanced budget but seeks it through cuts in corporate giveaways and military waste. He attacks fathers who do not pay child support, and argues for stricter enforcement of such payments while defending the need for federal programs. He rejects the MX missile, B-1 bomber and Rapid Deployment Force but talks about developing a "lean, aggressive" military and objects to sending Marines into a conflict "with their hands tied," echoing the conservative cry about Vietnam.

Despite McMillan's efforts to move to the center, the race remains a showdown between a representative of the new right wing of the Republican Party and a representative of a new populist left wing of the Democratic Party. McMillan himself guessed he would be in the 25 percent most conservative ranks of the House, and NCPAC spokesman Joe Steffen, who called the contest a "top race" for them, said of McMillan, "Maybe he's sincerely moderated, but I doubt it."

Evans sees himself as rejecting the old Democratic policies of corporate tax breaks, short-term, band-aid solutions for the poor and support for overseas adventurism and a bloated military. His instinctual working-class sympathies mix with a strong sense of self-reliance and personal responsibility that resonates well with the conservative values of the area

and breaks with what he dismisses as "wine and cheese liberalism."

"There is no middle ground anymore," he said. "You've got to stand for something. The lesson of the primary here was not a victory of the New Right but that you can't win by standing for nothing."

Now the voters of economically ravaged western Illinois have—if the message gets through to them—a clear choice between two strong candidates representing a new right and a new left in American electoral politics.

Jobs

Continued from page 3

is rapid de-industrialization that is being accomplished. Industrial production stands some 10 percent below its peak of three-and-a-half years ago. Profits are in their third year of contraction while other incomes have continued to inflate. Capital spending is in free fall. Foreign markets, especially the key ones in our own hemisphere, are in disarray. So heavy is the burden of business debt and precarious the willingness and ability of banks to provide funds, that it is no longer altogether certain that a moderate business upturn can provide enough lift to forestall a cascading of bankruptcies."

Of course, there are two big differences between 1929 and 1982, although at second glance, they may not be so great. One is social services—unemployment insurance, food stamps and welfare. Another is today's far higher standard of living of workers, which translates into sizeable bank accounts, credit cards and private homes. Fifty years ago, the average worker lived nearly hand-to-mouth, with precious little cushion when the collapse came. Apple sellers—the half-starved people who became the ubiquitous symbol of the Depression—were flooding onto New York City streets by October 1930.

There is more of a cushion today, but it is limited. A healthy bank account can disappear in a distressingly short time if a family's breadwinner is unable to find a job. Homeowners can fall behind in their mortgages all too easily. As for unemployment insurance, Congress passed laws last year that have already reduced the duration of benefits in 13 states and that will likely lead to reductions in eight to 16 others, including hard-hit Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Illinois.

The benefits were cut in a futile effort to balance the federal budget. In response to a similar set of economic problems in 1931, the British Labour government under Ramsay MacDonald responded in precisely the same way by proposing to reduce deficits by slashing unemployment benefits and other social services. The proposal was part of a chain of events that later included a disastrous run on the Bank of England, a near-mutiny over pay cuts by seamen in the British navy, and the fall of Labour and MacDonald's disgrace.

An unemployment rate of 10.1 percent is likely to have two immediate results, one political and the other economic. The first involves the Democrats' eagerness to seize upon joblessness as the issue in next month's congressional elections. But the fact is that the slump began under Carter and the efforts of the Democrats to control the crisis are likely to prove as pathetically inadequate as those of the other party of big business.

The economic impact has to do with consumer confidence. Consumers' faith in the future has been staggering for months. This latest bit of bad news should send it down for the count. Weak retail sales contribute to the downward spiral, but consumers, especially workers and middle-class people who are feeling the pinch, cannot be blamed. They see long unemployment lines and know that this is not the time to spend. And they are absolutely correct.

Daniel Lazare is a reporter for *The Record* in Hackensack, N.J.

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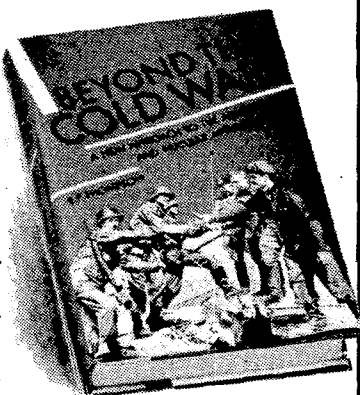
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The PAC rules

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) distinguishes between two major types of political action committees (PACs), not including corporate and labor PACs that collect money exclusively from their own employees and members.

The first, affiliated PACs, are connected to an organization such as a lobby. With a parent organization to pick up administrative costs and their own membership to solicit, they usually funnel a high percentage of receipts into campaigns. Although prohibited by law from soliciting funds outside their membership, affiliated PACs can accept unsolicited contributions. Most are concerned with one issue—such as women's rights or the environment.

The other type of PAC is unaffiliated. For example, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) falls into this category. As a rule, these PACs depend on direct mail for fundraising and plow most of their receipts back into mailings to build up their list. A few unaffiliated PACs, such as Democrats for the '80s and the League of Conservation Voters, jack up their yields through fundraising dinners, but most of them put only a trickle of what they collect into campaigns. At some point, presumably, these PACs will begin harvesting their well-watered mailing lists, but meanwhile only a fraction of each contribution is reaching campaigns.

A special category of unaffiliated PACs is the presidential PAC. Fritz Mondale's Committee for the Future of America, Ted Kennedy's Fund for a Democratic Majority and, to a lesser degree, Morris Udall's Independent Action function as personal power bases for 1984 presidential hopefuls.

Federal election law limits contributions by an individual to \$25,000 per year, \$1,000 per election to a campaign and \$5,000 per year to a PAC. The IRS in turn grants a 50 percent tax credit of up to \$50 for each contribution. PACs can contribute up to \$5,000 per election to any number of candidates. They can also spend an unlimited amount attacking those they don't like, provided they do it independently. With the exception of PROPAC, this luxury is limited to the richer, conservative PACs. PACs must report all of their receipts and disbursements monthly or quarterly to the FEC, including totals to date for the two-year election cycle.

The rise of PACs on the left

By Jonathan Greenberg, Michael Moynihan & Aaron Bernstein

AFTER RICHARD NIXON'S campaign slush funds prompted Congress to pass the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974, political action committees (PACs) began springing up across the land like mushrooms. An obvious response to limits on big-giving by the rich, they were a way to replace a few fat contributions with many little ones.

When a 1976 Supreme Court decision held that PACs could spend any amount of money as long as they did it "independently," Big Money emerged with a license to elect or defeat almost any candidate that it chose. Yet the power of PACs went unnoticed by Democrats until 1980, when a well-greased Republican war machine, equipped with sophisticated electronic mail weaponry and heavily armed organizations, overwhelmed the resistance.

But for every little action there is a reaction, and for every conservative there is a liberal. Since 1980, a potpourri of liberal PACs have created a vehicle for those who don't share Reagan's vision of the U.S. The key to PACs is putting money where it's needed and making sure the politician knows where it's coming from. So when a PAC gives a candidate a \$5,000 check as a result of a stand on the environment or gun control, it's a sure bet that the politician will pay more attention than if he or she received 250 checks for \$20 each from faceless constituents.

In this November's Senate and House elections, the conservative alliance of corporate, trade and professional association PACs along with Republican committees will pour roughly \$175 million into campaigns. In contrast, Democratic committees, along with labor and other liberal PACs, will dole out just

over \$50 million. The National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) alone will raise nearly as much as the combined total of all the PACs described below.

What follows is a listing of some of the PACs on the left that will contribute to 1982 campaigns.

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA/PAC), Washington, D.C.

ADA/PAC was founded in 1978 to augment the influence of the 35-year-old liberal organization. ADA, which has a membership of about 80,000 members and an annual budget of \$1 million, publishes the oldest and most widely recognized candidate ratings on liberal issues in the country, which it distributes to more than 100,000 people each year. ADA/PAC does not rely solely on its own ratings to determine which campaigns will be among the 60 it contributes to this year, although liberal politics are a basic criterion. Candidates must also have a good chance of winning to receive support. ADA/PAC intends to raise \$80,000 this cycle. Since the connected organization foots nearly all the bills, 90 percent of this is earmarked for cash contributions to campaigns.

Committee for the Future of America (CFA), Washington, D.C.

Fritz Mondale may be out of office, but he's not out of politics. His CFA, founded in 1981 by "friends and associates" is a lesson in forming a power base. Curt Wiley, the PAC's executive director, claims the PAC is "geared to this election" and notes that PACs are prohibited from giving more than \$5,000 to any presidential candidate. Nevertheless, Mondale will help elect many candidates this cycle who will no doubt remember it. And meanwhile, he is

Continued on following page

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building a formidable organization. Unlike Ted Kennedy's PAC, the CFA is not all direct mail. It has raised \$1.8 million so far, about half from events, the rest from direct solicitation, labor and direct mail. About \$325,000 will go into elections, three-quarters of it to House and Senate candidates, and the rest to gubernatorial ones. Contributions of \$2,000 to \$3,000 have been given to a number of candidates, but most of the PAC's aid is "in kind"—namely the former vice-president's own campaigning expenses. Mondale and his wife Joan plan to campaign for 150 candidates.

Council for a Liveable World/PEACE/PAC, Washington, D.C.

Founded in 1962, the council is a lobby against nuclear weapons, also registered with the Federal Election Committee (FEC) as a PAC. With board members such as Paul Warnke, John Kenneth Galbraith and former MIT President Jerome Weisner, it is respected on Capitol Hill. At the same time, it has helped many antinuclear senators over the years via a unique fundraising technique. The Council asks supporters to make checks out to suggested candidates, but to send the checks to the Council. When the checks arrive, it relays them to the candidate en masse. In this way, it has often raised well over the \$5,000 per election federal limit on conventional PAC donations. This time it has already funneled \$37,000 to Paul Sarbanes, \$28,000 to Millicent Fenwick, \$28,000 to Toby Moffett and similar sums to 10 other candidates for a total of \$325,000.

Democrats for the 80's Washington, D.C.

"We were formed in December of 1980, after the debacle of November," explains Executive Director Peter Fenn. As Frank Church's campaign manager in that election, Fenn saw the effect of PAC money first hand. Since then, Democrats for the 80's has become the most efficient of the big PACs, thanks largely to \$1,000-a-plate dinners. Earning most of its money at such high-yield events instead of through extensive direct mailings, the PAC has kept fundraising costs down to 15 percent of \$1 million raised so far. After overhead of about \$15,000 per month, it will put \$400,000 into campaigns. In addition, the PAC provides fundraising aid, speeches and issues assistance. Candidates also get the use of crack pollster Bill Cromer at bargain rates. Out of 105 House and 15 Senate candidates targeted, the PAC has so far contributed to 85 and 15 respectively.

Democratic Study Groups (DSG) Campaign Fund, Washington, D.C.

A PAC by and for liberal House Democrats, the DSG Campaign Fund has been around since 1964. Its parent, the Democratic Study Group, is the largest legislative research service on Capitol Hill. Founded in 1959, some 180 left and liberal members of Congress belong to DSG. At the forefront of campaign aid with volunteer polling (training volunteers to provide free labor for professional pollsters) and generic brochures in the '70s, DSG's PAC has come up with what appears to be a good idea—campaign loans. The PAC hopes to lend about \$200,000 to 40 candidates with the stipulation that winners have to pay them back. In the past, 70 percent of DSG choices have won, a figure that is expected to hold this election.

Jonathan Greenberg, Michael Moynihan and Aaron Bernstein are New York writers.

Environmental Action (EnAct/PAC) Washington, D.C.

Founded by the organizers of Earth Day in 1970, Environmental Action's first PAC pinpointed for environmentalists 12 anti-environment members of Congress to attack every year. In 1980, that publicity-oriented earth organization gave way to a grittier one, EnAct/PAC. Using EA's membership as a mailing list, EnAct/PAC should raise \$60,000 this election cycle, 60 percent of which will go into campaign work. Six thousand will be given out in cash. About \$30,000 will go into organizing: EnAct/PAC has put environmental experts on the campaigns of Barney Frank, Ira Lechner, Bob Carr, Howard Wolpe and several other candidates. And it has paid for mailings for 50 candidates the PAC supports.

Friends of Family Planning (FFP) Washington, D.C.

FFP was founded in 1979 as an independent PAC committed to supporting politicians who are pro-choice and pro-family planning. To establish a 14,000-person donor base, FFP has spent most of the \$460,000 it has collected this cycle on direct mailings to more than one million prospects. About \$16,000 or 4 percent has reached the campaigns of FFP-supported candidates so far. But FFP hopes to more than double this figure by election day.

Friends of the Earth (FOE/PAC) Washington, D.C.

Friends of the Earth's affiliated PAC (FOE/PAC), founded last year, has budgeted \$130,000 for the 1982 election, but only one-eighth of the money will go to cash contributions. FOE/PAC prefers to supply candidates with the services of professional "environmental organizers" who have helped highlight environmental issues and organize volunteers in seven states. FOE/PAC is providing 15 candidates—among them Jerry Brown, Ted Wilson and Paul Sarbanes—with organizing assistance because of their positions on energy issues and the environment. The organization spends 25 percent of its revenues on fundraising and expenses. Another 25 percent goes to research and mailings for candidates. Forty percent of its resources are devoted to supporting its 12 trained environmental organizers.

Fund for a Democratic Majority (FDM), Washington, D.C.

FDM was founded a year and a half ago ostensibly to counter the New Right by supporting liberal Democratic candidates and regaining Democratic control of the Senate. Ultimately, it is an advance PAC for Senator Kennedy's 1984 presidential campaign. Similar in objectives to Morris Udall's Independent Action and Fritz Mondale's Fund for the Future of America, Kennedy's FDM has spent almost all its \$1.9 million receipts on direct mail. The reward has been a tremendously expensive computerized house mailing list of 50,000 donors. So far only \$100,000—or about 5 percent of the PAC's receipts—has gone to the 100 some candidates the PAC supports. The FDM also offers campaign services to favored candidates and pays Kennedy's travel expenses when he appears on their behalf.

Human Rights Campaign Fund Washington, D.C.

Founded a year and a half ago, the Human Rights Campaign Fund is the only PAC in the country devoted exclusively to fighting the Moral Majority on the issue of civil rights for lesbians and gay men. Its advisory committee includes the mayors of San Francisco, Atlanta and Washington, D.C., as well as seven bishops and a prominent rabbi. It has

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Co

By Jonathan Greenberg, Michael Moynihan

THE HOUSE AND SENATE CAMPAIGNS highlighted below are considered key races by a consensus of the political action committees on the left profiled in this issue. The liberal candidate in each race has received support from a variety of PACs—for example, from a women's issue PAC, an environmental PAC and multi-issue PAC.

Bill Curry vs. Nancy Johnson 6th District, Connecticut

With Toby Moffett running for Senate this November, Bill Curry wants to take his place as the liberal member of Congress in this swing district. Recent polls show that the race is close. Curry, who was a state senator for six years, opposes military spending and favors a coordinated national investment strategy. He has also worked for health care cost containment, toxic waste control and labor safety. State Senator Johnson, a moderate Republican, supports Reagan, his New Federalism and his approach to arms control. Yet her pro-choice stance has won her the support of some women's groups, although NOW is backing Curry, who has introduced bills supporting women's rights in the state legislature.

Lynn Cutler vs. Cooper Evans 3rd District, Iowa

In this agricultural district that has been a stronghold of the GOP for more than 25 years, Cutler came within two percentage points of winning this seat in 1980, despite being outspent three-to-one. But because of redistricting, she has a good chance this time around. She supports the interests of small business owners, farmers and the elderly, and also actively supports the ERA and the nuclear freeze. The right-wing PACs have made her a special target. Incumbent Evans has voted consistently with Reagan, but as campaign time approaches, he has begun to moderate his positions on issues such as defense spending, student aid and social security cutbacks.

Barney Frank vs. Margaret Heckler 4th District, Massachusetts

As a result of redistricting, these two incumbents are squaring off in one of the most closely watched battles in the country. Reagan has reportedly ranked Frank second on his 1982 hit list, and has twice sent Vice-President Bush to campaign for Heckler. Because of Frank's unrelenting attacks on Reaganomics and his unyielding left politics, Frank was voted "most effective freshman" by his fellow members of Congress. But Frank faces an uphill battle since 70 percent of the rezoned district is in Heckler's turf. Heckler, who voted for the MX missile and the B-1 bomber in 1981, strongly opposes abortion and gay rights. Frank's performance in Congress has won him the support of

Congressional races to watch on election day

Moynihan & Aaron Bernstein

more liberal PACs than any other candidate.

Bob Mrazek vs. John Le Boutillier 3rd District, New York

Mrazek, a liberal Suffolk County supervisor for seven years, has a good chance of upsetting right-winger Le Boutillier, who rode Reagan's coattails to victory two years ago. Mrazek has a strong record on Long Island environmental issues such as waste dumping and farmland preservation. Targeted by the right for his pro-choice stance, he supports a nuclear freeze and is dead set against Reaganomics. The 29-year-old Le Boutillier, *enfant terrible* of this Congress, endeared himself to the ultra-right with his attacks on Democratic leaders. He flip-flopped on the nuclear freeze proposal, supporting it until the actual vote.



Incumbent Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) faces an uphill battle in the state's 4th District.

His family's 1980 campaign contribution is being challenged as a violation of federal election laws. Mrazek has raised about \$70,000 and is running a door-to-door grassroots campaign to get the \$250,000 he says he needs.

Richard Ottinger vs. John Fossel 20th District, New York

As a Democratic anomaly in the Republican bastion of Westchester County for 14 years, incumbent Ottinger has never won more than 60 percent of the vote. Now he faces a tough fight from State Assemblyman Fossel, who has some big New Right guns behind him. With campaign help from the Moral Majority and money from conservative PACs across the country, Fossel is launching a series of TV ads that attack Ottinger's liberal voting record on issues such as busing and affirmative action. Yet Fossel

has been trying to put some distance between himself and Reagan, whose stands he has consistently supported in the past. For example, he supports Reagan's defense budget, but says he wants to cut waste from military spending. Fossel will probably outspend Ottinger by more than two-to-one.

Matt McHugh vs. David Crowley 28th District, New York

An eight-year veteran of the House, McHugh has been active in efforts to cut off U.S. aid to El Salvador. He organized last spring's nine-hour debate in Congress about a nuclear freeze and strongly opposes Reagan's economic policies. Although his district is predominantly Republican, he was easily re-elected in 1980. Crowley, an attorney, is running for his first elected office with the help of his family's dairy money. Politically, he has tried to walk the middle line between McHugh and Mark Masterson, who is running on the Conservative ticket.

tive and a social liberal. To curtail government spending, she proposes slashing the military budget by \$40 billion and deferring Reagan's tax cut. Her main concerns, the economy and high interest rates, echo those of her constituents—farmers, ranchers and lumberjacks. On social issues such as abortion, the ERA and school prayer, she is a liberal. State senator Smith strongly supports Reagan. His stand on Social Security has hurt him in the district, where 22 percent of the residents receive Social Security checks. Although he has outspent Willis six-to-one so far, he tallied only 15 percent of the votes in recent polls. Willis didn't fare much better, since she lacks voter recognition and the money to get it. The result: a 70 percent undecided vote.

James Weaver vs. Ross Anthony 4th District, Oregon

Four-term Congressman and leading environmentalist James Weaver faces a supply-side professor from the University of Oregon at Eugene. Weaver co-sponsored the Oregon nuclear freeze referendum on the ballot in November, and has fought against gas decontrol, the synfuels giveaway and windfall profits. In one of the largest lumber territories in the country, where unemployment has hovered at 15 percent for two years, he is a fiscal conservative. Anthony is a moderate Republican. He has raised over \$200,000 so far from his wealthy family, the Republican Party and big utilities that dislike Weaver's nuclear-power stance.

Peter Kostmayer vs. Jim Coyne 8th District, Pennsylvania

A two-term former congressman and a strong environmentalist, Kostmayer was defeated by less than 4,000 votes in the Republican sweep of 1980. In the push to recapture his seat, he is being supported by consumer and labor groups. Kostmayer favors the nuclear freeze. A co-sponsor of the House nuclear freeze resolution, incumbent Coyne first voted for it, but reversed his vote at the last minute. Coyne expects to raise \$350,000 while Kostmayer hopes to get \$200,000. Polls show the race in this swing district is close, with Kostmayer slightly ahead.

Bob Wise vs. Mick Staton 3rd District, West Virginia

Wise, a state senator in this heavily blue-collar district, is challenging incumbent Staton on Reagan's economic policies. Since the recession has hit the coal belt especially hard, Wise is making an issue of Staton's failures to represent his district's interests. For example, Staton voted against funding for the Appalachian Regional Commission, which, among other things, provides money for roads and health centers. Wise has battled the state's utility company and angered the coal companies by forcing them to pay their full property taxes. Recent polls have put the undecided vote at about 40 percent. Staton should receive business and conservative PAC money, and plans to spend \$200,000-\$300,000 to Wise's \$100,000.



Oregon State Senator Ruth McFarland (above) hopes to unseat incumbent Denny Smith in the state's 5th District.

Paul Sarbanes vs. Larry Hogan Senate, Maryland

Incumbent Sarbanes, a liberal freshman member of Congress, faces Prince Georges County head Hogan, an unrestrained Reagan-worshiper and former FBI agent who is receiving strong backing from NCPAC. NCPAC has spent \$600,000 on ads attacking Sarbanes and has now begun pro-Hogan advertising. Sarbanes has raised \$1.1 million so far and has broad national support from liberal and labor PACs. Hogan, however, expects to raise \$1 million by election day, and NCPAC is stepping up spending. Recent polls show Sarbanes with a wide lead.

Ted Wilson vs. Orrin Hatch Senate, Utah

Wilson presents a strong challenge to incumbent ultra-conservative Hatch. Wilson, mayor of Salt Lake City since 1975, is a fiscal conservative, but a liberal on many social issues. Notable exception: abortion, which he opposes although he does not support Hatch's amendment. Wilson has fought federal government efforts to use Utah for nerve-gas testing, for a nuclear waste dump site and for replacement of MX nuclear missiles. He favors a nuclear freeze. Wilson has strong support from the antinuclear Council For a Liveable World, the actor Robert Redford and labor groups. So far, his campaign has brought in about \$425,000, but he hopes to raise \$1 million. Hatch has already raised \$2 million, with more of it coming from Texas and New York than from his home state.

Nuclear freeze referenda from coast to coast

By George Palmer, Michael Kazan & Steve Burkholder

THIS FALL, VOTERS IN NINE states, the District of Columbia and at least 30 cities and counties around the country—representing one-quarter of the nation's population—will have a chance to vote yes or no on the nuclear freeze. Taken together, this will be the largest referendum on a single issue in this country's history. And when the final votes are counted this November, it will be much clearer just how strong and effective the fledgling antinuclear movement really is.

The nuclear freeze movement—which, in its most basic form calls for a halt to the testing, development and production of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, followed by negotiations to reduce the nuclear arsenals of both countries—has been called a popular movement without precedent in American history. Since the spring of 1981, when a scattering of New England town meetings voted to endorse a resolution drawn up by military analyst and peace activist Randall Forsberg, it has been endorsed by 232 city councils, 446 New England town meetings, 51 county councils and the state legislatures of Massachusetts, Oregon, Connecticut, Vermont, Hawaii, Delaware, Iowa and New York.

According to a May *New York Times* poll, 87 percent of the population favors a nuclear freeze that would give neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union a military advantage.

But the freeze movement has also suffered its setbacks. In June, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee turned down a freeze resolution sponsored by Senators Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Mark Hatfield of Oregon. And in August, the House of Representatives, after intense lobbying by the Reagan administration, voted 204 to 202 against a similarly worded freeze resolution.

So for now, advocates of a nuclear freeze are pinning their hopes on the November vote—not just on the referendum, but on a number of congressional races that pit backers and opponents of the freeze against each other. "This movement is strong enough to weather a defeat in Congress," says Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Of the nine state referenda, three of them—in Wisconsin, New Jersey and Rhode Island—were put on the ballot by a vote of the state legislature. The other six are the result of initiative petition drives. Although they are all basically alike in calling for an end to the nuclear arms race and reductions in numbers of nuclear weapons, they differ slightly from state to state. And, as might be expected in a political movement that has sprung from scores of local groups with only a minimum of direction from national organizations, the campaigns that got the resolutions on the ballots have been as varied as the states themselves.

Here's a rundown on the nine states that will be voting on freeze referenda in November.

California. By far the largest number of votes that will be cast on a freeze resolution this November will be in California, with its diverse population of 24 million. There, in one of the broadest coalitions in the state's history, feminists have joined with Roman Catholic bishops, black ministers with corporate lawyers and Berkeley leftists with both of Ronald

Reagan's daughters. To get the resolution on the ballot, supporters collected more than three-quarters of a million signatures. As befits a state of this magnitude, the California freeze campaign also has the largest budget. (See *In These Times*, October 13).

New Jersey. On June 10, New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean, a Republican, signed the legislation that put the freeze referendum on the ballot, and said he would vote for it. The signing of the bill was the culmination of three months of freeze committee lobbying in each of New Jersey's 40 legislative districts.

The debate in the state senate took place a matter of days after President Reagan's Eureka, Ill., speech in which he proposed that the U.S. and the USSR reduce their ICBMs by a third. Even so, the bill passed the senate by 30-0 and the assembly by 70-2. There have been no statewide polls but a recent poll in populous Bergen County found 87 percent in favor of a nuclear freeze.

Arizona. Two political novices in Tucson, Nancy Carroll and Sister Gail Britanick, can take much credit for the appearance of the freeze resolution on Arizona's ballot. After Carroll returned from the freeze campaign's national convention in Denver last February, they put together a volunteer organization and started a petition drive. "Politicians told us there wasn't enough money or time to do it," says Carroll. Yet within 90 days they collected 74,000 signatures, far exceeding the 54,000 required to place the measure on the ballot.

The state's three Catholic bishops all gave public support. And the state's Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Methodist churches also endorsed the drive.

The most vocal opposition so far has come from the *Arizona Republic* in Phoenix, which editorialized against the "mush-heads" and "Communist dupes" who want to stop building nuclear weapons. The state's other major daily, the

Tucson Star, has supported the campaign.

Michigan. In Michigan these days, if you want to find a lot of people in one place, go to the unemployment office. In fact, says freeze organizer Michael Betzold, "Unemployment offices proved to be one of our most productive petitioning spots."

To get the resolution on the state's ballot required 229,000 signatures. When organizers presented their petitions to state officials in May they had 385,000, all collected in a four-month period.

In early January, the *Detroit Free Press* published an article by Betzold, in which he described his own personal terror of nuclear war and suggested a freeze initiative in the state. "Immediately volunteers just came out of the woodwork," says Betzold. Churches and labor unions contributed volunteers. One Sunday in March was dubbed "Signature Sunday," and parishioners were encouraged to sign petitions as they left services.

An August poll conducted in Detroit by the *Free Press* and a local TV station found 40 percent in favor of the freeze resolution outright, 31 percent in favor only if they were convinced that there is military parity between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This suggests that the final outcome is still in doubt, but freeze organizers say they will try to win over the decisive 31 percent by hammering at the economic side of the issue—that the arms race costs jobs in hard-pressed Michigan.

North Dakota. In North Dakota—the smallest of the initiative states with a total population of 652,000—campaign workers had to gather 13,000 signatures for the referendum to get on the ballot. They turned in more than 16,000.

Volunteers for the petition drive came from various peace groups as well as the Catholic, Methodist and Lutheran churches. The sponsoring committee for the initiative includes representatives of the state's electrical cooperative; Sam McQuade, a beer distributor; Thomas Clifford, president of the University of North Dakota; former Republican na-

Continued on page 22



Mel Rosenthal

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PERSUASIVE

THANK YOU FOR PERSUADING ME TO subscribe. Yours is by far the best journal I have come across—and I have tried a good many.

I congratulate you especially on your style, clear and unaffectedly literate. In itself a pleasure to read. I have not noticed a single "viable" or "virtually." Best of all, I have not once had to re-read a sentence to find out what the hell you are talking about. That takes good editing. I hope you'll not let anyone persuade you to change your style or format under the ridiculous notion that you would thereby "broaden your appeal."

You have also persuaded me to admit myself politically a socialist, by your excellent Editor's Reply (*ITT*, Sept. 22) where you state: "To us, the overriding issue in American public life is not socialism, but corporate capitalism and what its domination of American public life means." Well put.

—G.M. Gross
Woods Hole, Mass.

GETTING READY

I HAVE FOLLOWED WITH INTEREST *ITT*'s excellent coverage of the left's increasing involvement in and influence on electoral politics. In New Hampshire, representatives of safe energy groups, women's organizations and community groups last year formed Campaign New Hampshire to recruit and support progressive candidates to local and state office. Thus far, we feel our efforts have been very successful. One of our main goals is to have a strong organization in place when presidential candidates begin their trek to New Hampshire before the New Hampshire presidential primary in February, 1984. Incredibly, it looks like the New Hampshire primary will again go a long way toward determining who will be the next president of the United States, or at least who the major party candidates will be.

—State Rep. Robin Reed
Democrat
Portsmouth, N.H.

WORST OFFENDER

I HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY DISTURBED by *ITT*'s anti-Israel bias. Diana Johnstone is the worst offender, quoting Arab League propaganda as if it were objective, irrefutable fact (e.g., her review of L. Rokach's book, *ITT*, Sept. 22). As a supporter of *ITT*'s stated commitment to the goal of building a popular movement for socialism in the U.S., I believe that goal is best served by a scrupulous search for the truth, and not by the facile road of simplistic good guy/bad guy propaganda.

With A. Lebowitz (Letters, Sept. 29), I urge the editorial board to present coverage of the various forces within Israel seeking peace, the voices of those who grapple with the difficult issues of conscience and survival.

—Dorena Black
South Salem, N.Y.

"SAFE" CRITICISM

THE AMERICAN LEFT HAS LONG MADE it a policy to ignore the struggle of the Palestinian people. But suddenly, 34 years after the first Palestinian/Zionist war, the left woke up as if from a sweet

dream to realize that *maybe*, just *maybe* Israel is at fault this time—maybe Israel has committed crimes against civilians in Lebanon and maybe Israel was responsible for the massacres in Sabra and Shatila.... But we are not to interpret this close-to-condemnation of Israeli atrocities, because really it is only Begin and Sharon, the Likud party that is to be blamed.... If they hadn't come along Israel's reputation would not have been tarnished and we wouldn't have to scratch our heads trying to figure out just what on earth are the Palestinians doing in Lebanon, anyhow, and should they not be in Palestine where they belong.... But, thank god, we don't have to ask that disturbing question, because along come the "New Jewish Agenda" and the "Americans for Progressive Israel" with their "legal," "safe" criticism of certain elements of Zionism.

What a relief, the left is saved again. Zionism need not be reexamined, questioned or condemned and Palestinian voices need not be heard.

It is essential for publications like *ITT* to collect its courage and look Zionism squarely in the eye, and this time examine it from the point of view of its victims, the Palestinian people, whose continuous suffering is the price that has to be paid in order that an exclusive Jewish state may be maintained on Palestinian Arab Homeland.

—Howie Jackdani Mitchell
Livingston, Calif.

INNOCENT DEVIL

I WISH TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION at least two serious distortions that appear in your coverage of Mideast events (*ITT*, Sept. 22).

Claudia Wright's article, like other recent *ITT* articles concerning Israel, attempts to depict, without factual substantiation, constant Israeli involvement in acts of terrorism that affect Jews or Arabs. Specifically, Wright, writing from Washington, D.C., reaches for a far-fetched theory that the Begin government of Israel was involved in the assassination of the late Bashir Gemayel, who in fact was a close ally of Israel. Wright's "source" is the Arab League, hardly an objective source. Wright states that Arab League sources "doubt" Assad of Syria (who recently murdered 15,000 of his own subjects in a religious massacre) would do such a deed. Alas for Wright and the anti-Israel lobby at *ITT*, it appears that Gemayel was done away with by one Habib Sharrouni, a member of the Syrian Socialist National Party which, according to the *Washington Post* Beirut bureau, October 3, 1982, "has close ties to the Syrian government and...was an operative of both the Palestinian and Syrian intelligence services." No doubt *ITT* would wish it weren't so, but darn it, those diabolical Zionists somehow didn't do it.

As for your other Mideast non-expert, Diana Johnstone, who in the same issue of *ITT* came to the startling discovery, while reviewing a book about Israeli leader Moshe Sharret, that his colleagues—Ben-Gurion, Dajon, Peres, were plotting war against presumably peace-loving states like Nasser's Egypt in 1955.

In 1955, no Arab state recognized Israel, all Arab states considered themselves (as all but Egypt do today) at war with Israel, and Egypt under Nasser was sending Fedayeen guerrillas into Israeli territory to kill and to destroy Jewish settlements. That Israelis struck back in

self-defense instead of sheepishly waiting to be slaughtered by the pro-Nazi Nasser, who used to urge his officers to read *Mein Kampf*, is something that no Jew is going to apologize for to *ITT* or Johnstone.

—Stephen M. Feldman
Columbia, Md.

GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT

SOMEONE CALLED ME ON THE PHONE to solicit a donation and I said I'd send one when I got a job.

I got my first paycheck Friday, so here's a contribution. Your analysis is crucial because the corporate news media will never print the truth about monopoly capitalism in the world today.

—Paul Broch
Santa Barbara, Calif.

BOONIE PASTIME

MY FRIENDS (AN ECONOMIC ANALYST and a professor of ancient history) and I read with fascination Chuck Fager's revelations about the anti-capitalist origins of Monopoly (*ITT*, Sept. 29).

Never imagining that we were continuing the folk roots of the game, we too used to gather around the board and tinker with the economics of Monopoly. In the late '60s and early '70s, we played "Inflation Monopoly"—the banker was in charge of hastily printing up more and more money as the game spiraled ever upward into a capitalists' free-for-all. As we collected more dough and raised our rents, it made for a frenzied and hectic game but we found it addictive.

When the recession of 1973-74 hit, we decided to begin a game with inflation, then declared a "crash" and imposed a recession scenario. Depression ensued. Having to shell out \$200 every time we passed go, with no chance to better our property positions and facing rents exacted by gleeful landlords who had speculated on property and hotels in the first rounds resulted in growing irritation and mounting helplessness. Soon "go to jail" cards were snatched up with relief and sold to anxious bidders; the chance to sit out the rest of the game in jail seemed our only hope.

Although we had loved Monopoly, we ended that game in a profound funk and never played it again. Runaway inflation may be nervewracking, but enforced recession was hell!

Keep up the good work—we have

come to depend on *In These Times* for balanced news and analysis, hard to find here in Montana.

—Adrienne Mayor
Bozeman, Mont.

A SAFE AIRING

STATE SENATOR ALLAN SPEAR IS CORRECT in his letter (*ITT*, Oct. 6) describing Martin Sabo as a left-liberal Democrat. Sabo's voting record is one of the most liberal in Congress. Sabo has voted for such programs as consumer financing of the northern tier pipeline and the synthetic fuels program. Sabo supports liberal militarism—he does support increased military expenditures, but opposes some areas of military spending and calls for a slower rate of growth in the military budget than does Reagan.

Kathryn Anderson's race against Sabo was carefully chosen as an arena where the failings of "classic liberal Democratic policy" could be addressed with little danger (other than the airing of taboo issues) to Sabo who is one of the most liberal members of the House. His Republican opponent is an unknown John Bircher with essentially no party support.

It isn't Reagan alone who got us into our present economic morass, but 35 years of liberal and conservative economic and military policy. The liberals (Sabo included), just as the conservatives, never bring the basic functioning and processes of our economic system into the political dialogue. Since World War II the liberals even more consistently than the conservatives have increased military spending in peacetime. And while liberals such as Sabo may call for a nuclear freeze, neither party (nor Sabo) questions our commitment to militarism or explores the direct link between military spending and the prime issues of 1982—unemployment and a declining economy. Liberals, supporting liberal social programs and a strong military policy, believe every bit as firmly as conservatives in "voodoo" economics. From where does the money come for social programs when liberals are so committed to a strong "defense policy" and increasing military budget?

—Lloyd B. Hansen
Citizens Party, Minneapolis

CORRECTION

The address for the American-Arab University Graduates published in *ITT*, Book Reviews, Sept. 22, was incorrect. It is 556 Trapelo Road, Belmont, MA 02178.

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DIALOG

Don't elevate the parochial

By Max Gordon

NOT SINCE NEW DEAL days has there been so stark a political confrontation between the nation's "economic royalists" and the bulk of the working population as is shaping up for the November elections.

In July, 1978, UAW President Douglas Fraser resigned from an informal "Labor-Management Group" consisting of top corporate and union executives. He charged that big business has "chosen to wage a one-sided class war, a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many of the middle class...." Corporate America, he wrote in resigning, has discarded the "fragile unwritten compact" of the period of economic growth and is tightening its control over American society with the aim of dismantling social programs, destroying the labor movement and rewriting the tax laws to give the wealthy "a huge bonanza."

Four years later, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland echoed Fraser's indictment. Before a congressional committee, Kirkland termed supply-side economics "warfare against workers and the disadvantaged." Kirkland called the massive income transfer of \$700 billion the most irresponsible fiscal act of his lifetime.

In *These Times* readers know only too well the myriad ways in which the Reagan administration has been waging the business community's class war, not only domestically but against the poor and oppressed of underdeveloped lands, and the manner in which it has rekindled the Cold War with its attendant militarist and interventionist accents. Relying on the intensified power of money as an electoral instrument for today's expensive television campaigning, the corporate elite has embarked on a program of massive fundraising accompanied by effective political organization. In the 19 months from January 1, 1981, through this July, the GOP national committee and its congressional campaign committees have amassed \$153 million as a war chest; the Democratic committees have collected \$19 million. A White House strategist has said that while money cannot buy whole congressional districts, "you sure can buy 2 percent," which determined the outcome in many districts in 1980.

In his 1978 resignation letter, Fraser pledged his union to "reforge the links with those who believe in struggle," and to seek new alliances and coalitions. Early efforts foundered, but Reaganite policies have been helping the left to surmount some of the disarray. The first major expression of this was the great Solidarity Day demonstration of 300,000 in Washington Sept. 19, 1981.

As follow-up, the AFL-CIO Council designated Election Day, 1982, Solidarity Day II, urging unionists and their allies to march to the polls to cast ballots in what a black unionists' conference called a referendum on Reaganism. Recent speeches and resolutions suggest the unions are devoting major attention to getting out the union vote.

Corporate versus working-class programmatic lines appear to be drawn tighter now than in nearly half a century. The contest involves not only individual state and congressional district results, but also will be perceived as a referendum on Reaganism.

In view of the sharp class confrontational nature of the 1982 elections, what is appropriate policy for the left, includ-

ing democratic socialists? The direct impact of governmental actions on such great numbers of lower- and middle-class Americans, and their consequent arousal, presents the left with both the opportunity and the necessity to join the struggle in the arena in which it is being waged. A key tactic in this struggle is forging the coalition of workers, minorities, women, senior citizens, environmentalists, community activists, peace and disarmament advocates, etc., who perceive the Reagan program as destructive to their specific concerns and view the election as a prime tool for defeating that program. In most districts, the coalition must include the many Democrats who regularly vote in support of programs Reagan is emasculating. In the absence of a significant organized constituency for an independent party, the popular anti-Reagan movement can express itself effectively at the polls only through the Democratic Party.

The two electoral policies most prominently projected for the left—and debated—in *In These Times* have been support

for the Citizens Party and campaigning for local socialist candidates on the Democratic ticket. Both tactics tend to isolate the left from the victims of Reaganism who are seeking to defeat it. A viable national third party cannot be built by independent radicals, no matter how committed. Outside of the electoral arena such radicals often actively seek unity against specific Reagan measures; electorally, they isolate themselves from its victims.

There is nothing wrong with socialists running for local office on Democratic tickets. But to project this as the principal electoral tactic of democratic socialists is to elevate parochial concerns above the struggle preoccupying the mass. From the time of "The Communist Manifesto," which emphasized the point, world socialist experience has taught that socialist movements are built by merging with, and helping to organize and lead, the economic and political struggles of the working class and those allied with it. Through their activity and leadership, socialists win popular confidence and there-

by build their movement.

In merging with the popular anti-Reagan struggle, democratic socialists can also aid in building organization capable of influencing programs and maintaining pressure on politicians between elections. One reason for Reagan's successes has been highly effective right-wing organization, as well as lack of it on the left. How consistently members of Congress will oppose Reaganism often depends on constituent pressures.

The issue involved here is not whether the Democratic Party can be captured or reformed; nor is it the reliability of individual politicians. The central issue is how the left can assist in effective organization of mass electoral struggle for program and candidates, given the absence of conditions for a viable independent party. For such organizations as Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the question is whether priority consideration be given to campaigning for scattered local socialist candidates on Democratic tickets or to merging with, and helping to organize and unite, the victims of Reaganism in the struggle to defeat it. We are faced not with "lesser evil" choices, but with restraining the deadly greater evil. ■

Max Gordon is a former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

EDITOR'S REPLY

Left must provide a real alternative

By James Weinstein

AS MAX GORDON POINTS out, there has not been so stark a confrontation between the nation's "economic royalists" and the bulk of the working population in the United States since the Great Depression of the '30s. Unfortunately, however, this is not yet a political confrontation.

In most instances, the November 2 election will not present clear alternatives to the policies of the Reagan administration. We do expect a big swing to the Democrats at the last minute, and this will clearly be a rejection of Reagan's openly pro-corporate policies and of his disregard for the interests and needs of working people and the poor. But like the election of 1980, the vote

there is little or no enthusiasm for the Democrats.

The reason is not difficult to find. Two Sundays ago, on CBS' *Face the Nation*, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland noted that the jobless rate, including discouraged workers who have stopped looking for jobs, is now 14.5 percent. He laid the blame on Reagan's economic policies. "Never before," he said, "have two crack-brained theories like supply-side economics and cultist monetarism had a more extensive trial and been proved so wrong, to the great harm of so many people so quickly." But that same day in another TV interview, White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker argued unemployment cannot be cured "by creating jobs artificially." President Reagan, Baker said, "deplores the fact that so many Americans are out of work," but the administration believes that unemployment can only be reduced by rooting out the basic causes of the weak economy—high interest rates and inflation.

And this is the same approach adopted by the House Democratic Caucus in mid-September. In their policy statement, prepared by a 37-member committee representing party liberals, moderates and conservatives, the Caucus shunned calls for full employment and identified inflation as the nation's most persistent economic problem. Conceding that there are no quick solutions to the nation's woes, the Caucus rejected short-term jobs programs and emphasized the need for government-stimulated private investments to create jobs through long-term growth of high-technology industries. Rep. Timothy Wirth of Colorado who headed the group that wrote the report, summed it up by saying the Democrats want to "move away from a temporary economic policy of redistribution [of wealth] to a long-term policy of growth and opportunity."

Small wonder, then, that last week in Texas Reagan said in answer to his critics that his policies may not yet be showing positive results, but he has yet

to hear the Democrats come up with an alternative.

Socialist politics.

What, you may be thinking, does this have to do with socialist politics? In Max Gordon's and John Cameron's view (judging from their *Dialog* pieces), nothing. In my view, everything.

Both Gordon and Cameron see socialist politics primarily as a matter of tactics because both believe that an open espousal of socialist principles would isolate the left (presumably even more than it already is). For Gordon, as for the Communist Party in the '30s, the "essential way which the socialist movement develops" is through activity and leadership in liberal movements (without putting forward their own views and programs). And for Cameron the "dilemma of reformism vs. sectarianism" forces socialists to settle for being "activists" in various single-issue social movements or be "doomed to political irrelevance."

If this were true, though, what need would there be for a socialist movement? How could DSAers then argue that those who don't join up are "cheating on their dues"? The reduction of socialist politics to tactical relations with others reduces the socialist movement to perpetual marginality. That's why Gordon can think, as he has for 50 years, that the time has not come—yet—publicly to espouse socialist principles. How long, oh Lord?

But socialism is not primarily a matter of tactics. Nor are socialist principles irrelevant to the majority of Americans today. Quite the contrary, it is essential publicly to explore the need for social control of investment in contrast to the Republican and Democratic policies of throwing money at the giant corporations in the hope that they will solve our problems as a by-product of making more money for themselves.

This is the point that Machinists' president William Winpisinger makes repeatedly in speeches to unionists and others. In talking at a meeting of Americans for Democratic Action October 2 about the relatively poor performance economically and socially of the U.S. in recent years, Winpisinger said that "it is time we started importing social democracy and quit exporting our capital and our jobs. It is time we began rebuilding America along democratic socialist lines."

Addressing the reason for the popular lack of enthusiasm for the Democrats, Winpisinger added that "liberals must understand that there is no middle way

Socialist politics require a new set of principles in public life.

will be almost entirely negative. Reagan beat Carter because of the inability of the Democrats under Carter to solve or even to address the problems facing the vast majority of Americans. The Democrats will beat the Republicans this year for the same reason.

In almost every pre-election poll the most striking thing is the large number of "undecideds." While only 41 percent of the American people think Reagan is doing a good job as president—a rating lower than that of any of the past five presidents at the same point in their administrations—and while many union members who had voted for Reagan in 1980 now see that vote as a mistake,

ITT's editors should accept the dilemma that socialists always face

By John Cameron

MANY THANKS TO JOE Schwartz for his generally excellent piece on socialists and electoral politics (*ITT*, Sept. 22). Even more useful was the editorial response, since it helped clarify *In These Times'* position on the subject. I and many other Democratic Socialist of America (DSA) members have been confused by *In These Times'* narrow insistence that the proper strategy for DSA was to run our own members as socialist candidates for office through the Democratic Party. As activists in the trade union, feminist, citizen action and other mass movements, we have apparently been mistaken in our as-

essment that such a singular strategy would isolate us from our allies and doom us to political irrelevance.

The reason, as the Editor's Reply made clear, is that we have misunderstood *In These Times'* position: to run candidates as socialists in the elections is not, as we now learn, to run candidates as socialists in the elections. Rather it can mean running candidates as non-socialists (*a la* Citizens Party) or as anti-socialists (Santa Monica). This is possible because to run as a socialist it is not necessary to say you are a socialist (a strawman!) or even to believe in socialism. All that is required is to oppose the profit-oriented priorities of corporate capitalism while believing in liberty and equality.

What remains unclear is why *In These Times* so vehemently counterposes this strategy to DSA's support for left/liber-

between democratic socialism and Reaganomics. The Democratic Party," he said, "cannot have a social conscience and champion the cause of peace and disarmament, and at the same time adopt classical conservative and Republican economics. Nor," he said, "can the Democratic party continue to curry favor with an unbridled corporate America, play Pac Man politics for its campaign contributions, and pretend it is a workers' party."

Addressing the House Democratic Caucus policy statement, Winpisinger warned that the neo-liberals were destined to be a passing fad as long as they "refuse to attack maldistribution of wealth and income, refuse to encroach on the unfettered power of capital and poverty, refuse to acknowledge the existence of private monopoly and oligopoly, refuse to restructure the decision-making processes in our political economy."

In short, Winpisinger was attempting to convince his audience that to bring the majority of working people enthusiastically into the electoral arena requires politicians who speak consistently in their interest, and who do not shrink from confronting what corporate capitalism's domination of American life means to us all.

He was making this argument not out of some suicidal instinct, which is undoubtedly how John Cameron sees it, but out of a conviction, which we share, that the problems facing the U.S. today cannot be solved by traditional liberal or conservative means, and that programs based on socialist principles are needed both to begin solving our problems and to bring working people out of their indifference to politics and away from their distrust of all politicians.

Of course, it is possible that socialist principles can be enunciated by non-socialists, and by socialists who choose not to identify themselves as such. In fact, there is increasing evidence that unionists, environmentalists, opponents of nuclear bombs and nuclear power, feminists, blacks and people in other social and political movements are coming to the conclusion that liberty and equality can be achieved only through social control of investment decisions. And they are expressing this idea in various ways. That is why, as I wrote in the September 22 Dialog, we admired Barry Commoner's approach to the issues in 1980 and it is why we endorse the concept of economic democracy, even though some of its proponents in Santa Monica are "anti-socialist."

al, anti-corporate Democrats. Why are the Citizens Party races for two Burlington city council seats (a town smaller than many Chicago suburbs) so much more significant than supporting Ron Dellums' or Lane Evans' congressional campaigns?

The only criteria that distinguishes what *In These Times* seems to consider are "socialist" candidates from those "good left/liberals" is that the former lack any significant base in the labor, minority or citizens movements. In fact, *In These Times'* only response to Schwartz's persistent linkage between electoral strategy and building the mass progressive movement is to heap scorn on "movement building" as an excuse not to talk socialism.

In These Times' editor writes almost as if he believed that this was still turn-of-the-century America where there was little distinction between the socialist and other left movements—when a socialist party had yet to come to power anywhere and to favor municipal ownership of streetcars or to oppose child labor was "socialism." He correctly perceives though that things changed in the '30s when the mass progressive movement, embodied by the CIO, emerged quite distinct from the socialist movement, facing the Communist Party and socialists ever

Ever since the CIO emerged in the '30s, the socialist left has had to choose between reformism and sectarianism.

since with the dilemma of reformism versus sectarianism.

That dilemma is real: the Communists did not invent it and equating socialism with reformism (or progressive anti-corporatism) will not resolve it. Nor do I think the answer will be found in the history books. So please, stick with the newspaper business—we need you—but could you ease up a bit with the one-sided attacks on DSA?

John Cameron is a member of the Chicago DSA local.

But it would be absurd for socialists to rely on non-socialists, much less anti-socialists, to enunciate socialist principles in running for office, while the socialists limit their activities to support of liberals and those few individual socialists who, after getting themselves elected on their own, have identified with the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) out of principle.

The building of a movement for so-

cialism, though in part a spontaneous process, cannot be left to chance. If the building of a rational humane society requires organization and planning, so, too, does the building of a political movement toward that end. On the American scene today, DSA seems best suited to the job. Our prodding, as any other form of serious criticism, should be understood for what it is: not an attack, but the highest form of flattery. ■

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INPRINT

THE DEPRESSION

Demagogues offer lessons for '80s leftists

Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin & the Great Depression

By Alan Brinkley
Knopf, 348 pp., \$18.50

By Lawrence Wittner

One of the most frustrating things for American democratic socialists today is battling for "the people" when most people seem, at best, indifferent to politics. Disillusionment easily sets in, and many a dedicated socialist becomes a hippie, a cultist, a rightwinger, or a member of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party.

This impatience with "the cause," "the people," or both, is understandable enough, but it is not necessarily justified. After all, popular democratic socialist movements have emerged and won political victories in other countries. Furthermore, millions of people have rallied around

anti-plutocratic movements—although not explicitly socialist ones—throughout American history.

Alan Brinkley's new book shows that in the U.S. popular, if not socialist, movements have been mobilized directly to challenge entrenched wealth and power in a fashion shunned by even the New Dealers. If these movements are too flawed to serve as models for today's democratic socialists, their ability to enlist millions of Americans in a crusade against special privilege suggests how leftists might do a better job than in the past. *Voices of Protest* focuses on Huey Long and Father Charles Coughlin, two startlingly effective demagogues of the Great Depression era.

Born and raised in Winn Parish, La.—birthplace of Louisiana's Populist Party—Long was elected the state's governor in a

1928 campaign that emphasized the grievances of the downtrodden. He quickly instituted a program of economic reform—the much ballyhooed Share Our Wealth program—and used his formidable political power to win a Senate seat and set his eyes on the White House.

Unlike Long, Coughlin drew his egalitarian ideas from the social teachings of the Catholic Church, and began his meteoric career as a priest in an industrial suburb of Detroit. During the Depression, he also began trumpeting the claims of the dispossessed. His weekly radio sermons focused almost exclusively upon political issues and helped to launch the popular National Union for Social Justice.

Both men were unsavory characters. Vulgar, opportunistic and unscrupulous, Long had more than his share of detractors. H.L. Mencken called him "simply a backwoods demagogue of the oldest and most familiar model—impudent, blackguardly and infinitely prehensile." Father Coughlin, too, exhibited some very unpleasant characteristics. Arrogant and authoritarian, he showed little patience with those who did not share his enthusiasm for currency reform and other dubious schemes. *The Nation* noted acidly that Coughlin's economic program was "based upon the theory that the imbecility of the plain people is usually greatly underestimated." Socialists, Communists and many liberals of the time denounced the two men as forerunners of American fascism.

Nevertheless, they were popular. Coughlin's weekly "Radio Hour of the Little Flower" drew an audience of from 10 to 40 million Americans. In urban neigh-

borhoods throughout the East and Midwest, residents could walk for blocks and never miss a word of the priest's political sermons, which blared from countless windows. Coughlin received more mail than anyone else in the U.S.—over 10,000 letters a day, many containing financial contributions. After some broadcasts, his weekly total topped a million. In 1934 when the New York City radio station WOR asked its listeners who, other than the president, was "the most useful citizen of the U.S., politically," 55 percent of the respondents named Coughlin.

Long also attracted an enormous national following. His Share Our Wealth Clubs—based on his plan for a sharply confiscatory tax program, coupled with direct redistribution measures—claimed to have enrolled millions of Americans. After an average radio broadcast, the Kingfish (as he was called) would receive as many as 60,000 letters through his radio network and even more at his Senate office. Worried that Long would wage an insurgent campaign for the presidency, Democratic Party officials eyed his mass appeal with considerable alarm. Indeed Roosevelt's widely-heralded "turn to the left" in 1935—the "Second New Deal"—was in

Father Coughlin (below) received 10,000 letters a day in the '30s.



part an attempt to co-opt the Kingfish's burgeoning constituency.

Traditional radicals.

As Brinkley shows, the key to the Long-Coughlin appeal lay in their championing of a traditional kind of American radicalism, much of it associated with Populism. It emphasized breaking up the great fortunes, smashing financial and corporate monopolies, and defending the integrity of local institutions. At times their pronouncements had a socialist ring. "One of the worst evils of decadent capitalism," Coughlin declared, is that "production must be only at a profit for the owners, for the capitalist, and not for the laborer." While Coughlin lashed out at the villainy of bankers and financiers, Long ridiculed men of great wealth, portraying them as fat, slothful and profligate—"pigs swilling in the trough of luxury."

Yet there was also a more familiar, middle-class tone to their pronouncements. The Share Our Wealth Plan, the Kingfish explained, would guarantee to every family "a home and the comforts of a home, including such conveniences as automobile and radio," all "free of debt." Sometimes they both criticized the New Deal for its timidity, but at other times they excoriated it for its centralization. Long and Coughlin made serious inroads into a constituency that American socialists rarely touched—

the hard-pressed lower middle class.

Another factor behind these two men's extraordinary popularity was their style of communication. Earthy, simple and direct, they used the new mass media with skill and imagination. One of Long's opponents conceded, ruefully, that the Kingfish was probably "the best radio speaker in America." Coughlin, too, was a great performer. Gifted with a warm, inviting voice, he worked hard to make his rhetoric accessible to the widest possible audience.

But in the end, such talents were insufficient for either Long or Coughlin to capture the presidency. Franklin Roosevelt possessed some of these same skills and was immensely popular with many of the same people. When Long was assassinated in September 1935, his national organization quickly disintegrated. Coughlin threw his efforts into an ill-fated third party venture in 1936, but proved unable to convince more than a small portion of his vast following to bolt the Democratic Party. Humiliated and embittered, he became increasingly venomous, embraced anti-Semitism and was finally forced off the air by pressure from the Church and other broadcasters.

Avoiding jargon.

Unlike their socialist competitors, the two men did manage to stir up a mass movement that vigorously attacked plutocracy on behalf of economic equality. Why didn't orthodox leftists do as well? In retrospect, the reasons seem obvious: they frequently spoke in Marxist or Leninist jargon; they tended to be rigid and sectarian; they often related better to intellectuals than to the common people; they persisted in isolating themselves through third parties; they possessed little understanding of the mass media; and, with the notable exception of the socialists, they often identified with a foreign power—the Soviet Union. When Marxist dogmatists were prating about the "dictatorship of the proletariat," Long and Coughlin were proposing to "share our wealth."

In recent decades, American leftists seem to have learned from their past mistakes. Communists started groping toward an accommodation with American reality during the Popular Front era of the late '30s and '40s—although their stubborn attachment to the Soviet Union ultimately led to the loss of whatever gains they had made. The New Left also sought to avoid the doctrinal jargon and political rigidities of the past. Politically inexperienced and oftentimes frustrated, many of them fizzled out or succumbed to dogma.

More recently, new organizations have taken on the task of building a popular socialist presence in American life—one that no longer sneers at elections, churches, AFL-CIO unions, the Democratic Party and other mainstream American institutions. And they have made important headway. But socialists should not fool themselves about the distance they have yet to travel. All they can be sure of is that, if they are ever to build a mass socialist movement in the U.S., they must ground it in American values, rhetoric and traditions. ■

Lawrence Wittner, who teaches American history at the State University of New York, Albany, is the author of American Intervention in Greece, 1943-1949.



FDR's turn to the left prior to the 1936 election was, in part, an attempt to win away supporters from Huey Long (above).

PSYCHOLOGY



Carol Gilligan argues that women's moral development might differ from men's.

Morality on a new scale

In A Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development

By Carol Gilligan
Harvard University Press,
184 pp., \$15

By Judith Kegan Gardiner

Many Victorians believed that women were angelic beings, morally superior to men although incapable of dealing with worldly affairs. Then along came Freud who insisted that women were ethically deficient and unable to make abstract moral judgments. Jean Piaget, Erik Erikson and Lawrence Kohlberg followed, devising models of human development in which women appear deviant or morally stunted.

Now, Harvard psychologist Carol Gilligan challenges all these views. With her study of "women's voices" as expressed in literature and personal interviews, she says there is a different

model for moral development that is complementary to the "male" model. This model appeals to responsibilities rather than to rights. It fears isolation rather than aggression. Its emphasis is to care for others before oneself.

Gilligan developed her views under the tutelage of, and in partial opposition to, Kohlberg. His scale for determining moral development starts with egocentric individual needs and climbs past strict adherence to social conventions on the way to the moral pinnacle of the individual conscience judging on the basis of abstract principles. Gilligan noticed that women in Kohlberg's studies stayed on the "conventional" middle rungs of the moral scale much more often than men. She surmised that the rating system was geared to men and that it failed to understand women's approaches to moral questions.

Kohlberg tests children by posing a hypothetical problem: should poor Heinz steal the drug needed to save his dying wife if the druggist won't sell it for a price he can afford? Boys rate high when they answer "yes": the right to life is greater than the right to property. Girls rate low when they refuse to judge in this matter. Instead, many of them want Heinz to talk over the situation with the druggist until the two work out a mutually-satisfactory arrangement. Gilligan suggests that men and women might see moral dilemmas differently and construct different kinds of solutions. Often the men see competing principles and set them up in a hierarchy of values. Many women add details to make the situation concrete.

Then they empathize with all its participants and seek to respond in such a way that all are cared for, none are left out, and the consequences don't harm anyone.

Based on interview data, Gilligan builds a scale of moral development more applicable to women than Kohlberg's. The lowest rung emphasizes personal survival. At the next stage, survival needs are seen as selfish, so individuals turn to an opposite ideal of selflessness in the service of others. This ideal is rarely attainable. It is closely associated with the anxieties and ambivalences of traditional female roles, and its impossibility generates guilt. The highest stage of moral development on Gilligan's scale integrates the demand for personal integrity with the need to care for others. It includes the self in the group that must not be harmed and recognizes the interdependence of the self and others. Gilligan calls this "the ethic of care." At its broadest, it condemns all forms of exploitation. "The moral imperative that emerges repeatedly in interviews with women," Gilligan writes, "is an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the 'real and recognizable trouble' of this world."

Gilligan argues that men and women achieve a similar maturity, but that they come to it from different directions. Male identity is based on the ideals of individuality and autonomy. Female identity is based on immersion in personal relationships. Often men must learn tolerance and generosity in midlife if they are to avoid despair. However, their adolescence and early manhood

trains them to value success over intimacy. On the other hand, many women at midlife have been deeply embedded in the intimate generosity of family relationships. They are taught to subordinate their own achievements to the care of others. Their midlife crisis is likely to be one of separation, not one of attachment. That contemporary women feel peculiarly adrift at this stage in their lives, Gilligan thinks, is "more a commentary on the society than a problem in women's development."

Gilligan shows that both popular psychology and academic theory about the life cycle must be changed to include women equally with men. She implies that the female moral voice gives invaluable lessons to both sexes. For example, she reviews studies of children's games: girls change the rules to preserve their relationships, whereas boys abide by the rules, but think of relationships as easily replaced. Gilligan criticizes those who conclude that girls should be taught to play like boys. They assume "the male model is the better one since it fits the requirements for modern corporate success. In contrast, the sensitivity and care for the feelings of others that girls develop through their play have little market value." As adolescents and adults, men often associate power with aggression, while women see nurturing as powerful. It is not clear from this analysis whether the male model is the invariable product of social power or if it a special development of capitalism today.

Gilligan makes her thesis with a clear and careful style. She avoids rash generalizations and polarizations, and admits that the small size of her interview samples means additional studies are necessary to confirm her results. She did not analyze her data for class, race or other cultural variables, and this seems an important area for further research. The repeated notion in her study that aggression represents a failure of communication, for example, may reflect the



popular humanistic psychology of the '70s as much as it manifests a constant of female psychology.

But this study still has important and immediate political implications. Gilligan shows, for instance, that women respond to the moral crisis of abortion in their own lives with decisions based on an ethic of responsibility. However, as she observed in a recent panel discussion, the public discourse about abortion is posed entirely in "male" terms of abstract rights—"the right to life" versus "the right to choose." The public men speak a different language than the private women. The male legislators misunderstand and therefore devalue the moral standards underlying the decisions of the pro-choice women.

Gilligan demonstrates that developmental psychology based exclusively on a male model is inadequate. She shows how apparently abstract notions of virtue and justice can be culturally biased. Perhaps more importantly, she builds a moral megaphone that enables us to hear women's voices with all their complexity and integrity.

Judith Kegan Gardiner teaches English at University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

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Edited by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod

The "crux" of the Middle East conflict is the question of Palestine; the essence of that question is the attainment by the Palestinian people of their historic national rights. In this book of essays, seventeen distinguished international scholars examine, analyze, and detail Palestinian national rights, including their right to national identity, sovereignty in Palestine, return, and representation. Israel's deliberate and systematic violations of these rights in the form of conquest, colonialization, oppression, and expulsion from their national patrimony are portrayed on the basis of Israel's actual practices in occupied Palestine, and examined in the light of the principles of international law. The international assessment and response to these rights and violations are carefully probed and documented.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



Frankie Taylor, Gary Slem and Don Baker act in the Roadside Theater's RED FOX-SECOND HANGIN'.

APPALSHOP

Already a mountain tradition

By Michael W. Perri

It was a telling Appalshop tableau. Film editor Anne Johnson flitted from the video monitor to the control panel, actor Don Baker reached heavenward with the conviction of a backwoods preacher and on the TV monitor, Baker's video-taped persona mirrored his real-life gesture in a production of the Appalshop collective's *Red Fox-Second Hangin'*.

As imperturbable as a mountain untouched by strip mining, J.P. Fraley viewed each run-through as if it were the first telling of the history of mankind. Settling back in his seat Fraley ran his gnarled fingers through his pepper-gray hair. He was as familiar with the darkened, brick-walled TV studio on a side street in Whitesburg, Ky., as he was with the area's coal mines, where he installs mining equipment.

For more than a decade Appalshop, a filmmaking and folk art collective in the seat of Letcher County, Ky., has existed for such encounters between young Appalachians and old-timers like Fraley. They come by different paths, but are all drawn by the thread of mountain tales that tie the region together and stress the dignity of surviving outside the American mainstream. Collective member Johnson came by way of her editing work on *Harlan County, U.S.A.* and the economic necessity of a coal-mining husband who was out of work. Baker followed a path from his family's mountain home in Norton, Va., through a university in Lexington, Va., finally arriving at Appalshop's Roadside Thea-

ter. Fraley joined up after several decades traveling the world, playing the trade he had learned in the coal mines sunk into the mountains between Whitesburg and Norton.

Johnson brought with her a mastery of film and video-tape production. Baker had a penchant for tall tales and a love of his mountain roots. And Fraley brought the melody of the mountains, for when he isn't deep underground, Fraley is known to wrap his knotty hands around a fiddle and play some of the sweetest tunes that ever haunted Appalachia.

Outside the boundaries of the six-county area that straddles the Virginia-Kentucky border, and beyond the confines of traditional music festivals, Fraley's music is seldom heard. Some of his friends even worry that fiddlers will try to steal his music when they hear part of his tune "Winds of Shiloh" on an Appalshop radio broadcast or in a segment of the collective's weekly half-hour

According to one man, "It was different times back then.... We were all a little bit wild-eyed."

TV show called *Headwaters*. There are those at Appalshop who want to get Fraley into their recording studio, but first, Baker and the other members of the Roadside Theater are determined to use his music in the TV production of *Red Fox-Second Hangin'*.

No longer isolated.

Since 1969, young Appalachians like Baker and Johnson have been working to preserve the culture that grew up in the hollows and along the creeks when the southern Appalachian Mountains isolated the area from the rest of the country. It is a culture rooted in a profound sense of place and nurtured through the constant repetition of tales and tunes and practical advice. Until recently, it survived without the benefit of an apparatus for promoting its achievements. But after the railroads and then highways came to the region to aid lumber and coal companies, things changed. There were some, like Fraley, who were able to wander and then return. But more likely than not, those who left—often to find work in the industrial cities of the Midwest—turned their backs on the hills.

One of the tales told frequently around Appalshop describes a woman in one of Chicago's Appalachian ghettos who broke down and cried after seeing *Red Fox-Second Hangin'*. She told Roadside manager Dudley Cocke that she had always been ashamed of the way her daddy talked until she heard actors Baker, Gary Slem and Frankie Taylor tell the story of "Doc" Taylor, who was condemned by a judge eager to bring the mining

companies' law and order to the mountains even if it meant sacrificing justice and hanging an innocent man.

Fraley may have been able to travel in Europe, Africa and Asia to enrich his musical tradition, but the waves of migration and influx of money into the region eroded much of its tradition. There isn't much call for a killer of hogs in Chicago these days, and in a world of factories the handmade chair is a luxury few can afford. Dependent on family and church and place, Appalachian culture just didn't travel well. Even in 1974 one of the Appalshop filmmakers had to explain to a college audience that his film *Woodrow Cornett: Letcher County Butcher* was intended to document a way of life, not to exploit violence.

When Bill Richardson started the Appalachian Film Workshop in Whitesburg, the mining towns of the area had little love for filmmakers and TV producers. In 1967 a Canadian filmmaker was shot to death by an angry property owner after a day's filming in Jeremiah, 12 miles from Whitesburg. But Richardson, armed with a joint Office of Economic Opportunity and American Film Institute minority grant, designed a program to train Appalachian youths for careers in commercial film and television. In the fall of 1969 the workshop opened in a storefront on Main Street and by the summer of 1970 about eight local high school students and several other interested people from Whitesburg were making films. Almost immediately the professional training program evaporated. Here were all these cam-

eras and this video-tape equipment, and there was so much to document.

A time of change.

"It was different times back then," said Herb E. Smith, one of the originals who has grown up with Appalshop. "The Vietnam war was going on and we were all a little bit wild-eyed."

They turned those wild eyes everywhere. One videomaker decided to film local basketball games, Richardson looked at Woodrow Cornett, and Smith turned toward one of the purest examples of Appalachian culture—the Old Regular Baptist Church, a strict fundamentalist group. Some of the liberal reformers in the area criticized the group as being irrelevant to Appalachian problems. But changing their name to Appalshop and winning funding for a variety of projects, the group members committed themselves to a long hard look at all aspects of their environment.

"Here are people who are living an alternative," said Smith of the Regular Baptists he documented in *In the Good Old Fashioned Way*. "No matter what, there is something in that film that deals directly with strip mining and Vietnam wars and everything that is bad about this country."

There is also something of everything that is good about this country. It can be seen as well in the movies on chairmaker Dewey Thompson, women who quilt, mountain farmer Lee Banks and the Buffalo Creek flood. Thirty other films have come out of Appalshop.

There is a sense of community that permeates all the Appalshop endeavors, which include the Roadside Theater, June Appal Records, Headwaters Television, the Mountain Photography Workshop and the History of Appalachia Project. So when you talk to collective member musician Ron Short, whose musical play *South of the Mountain* premiered recently at the Regional Organization of Theaters South Festival in Atlanta, it is always tales of his daddy and granddaddy that provide an introduction to the subject at hand.

With an annual budget of almost \$1 million, Appalshop seems well on its way to assuring that the next generation of Bakers and Johnsons will be able to work with this generation's Fraleys. The collective recently celebrated the grand opening of a new \$900,000 building. In addition, projects like the developing *History of Appalachia* television series will allow Appalachians to portray themselves to the rest of the world. A pilot is being readied under the guidance of Helen Lewis, who was formerly with the Highlander Center in New Market, Tenn. All that remains for completion on the seven-part series is funding from long-time supporters such as the National Endowment for the Humanities.

"They are here to stay—money talks," said James Still, a novelist from nearby Knott County. "This is the single most important thing to happen in Appalachia in the last 10 years. These people never looked at themselves before, and now they have a chance to evaluate the present and to plan for the future."

Michael W. Perri is managing editor of Atlanta's arts publication *Art Papers*.

THEATER

A deadly subject comes to life

By Charles Sugnet

Every member of Miriam's family has her own quirky defenses. Aunt Birdie falls asleep at the mention of an uncomfortable subject. Punk daughter Sheila drowns everything out with loud music while trying to dance her way through life.

Outside their apartment window a sinister figure paces, reciting quotations from Einstein. Each of them sees the figure but hides her fear from the others, treating the apparition as a private hallucination rather than a public fact.

This is one of Martha Boesing's images of how we deny the threat of nuclear extinction, presented in her play *Ashes, Ashes, We All Fall Down*. Boesing is artistic director for the Minneapolis-based women's theater group At the Foot of the Mountain, which has a remarkable eight-year history of producing plays intended to challenge "the boundaries between art and social reflection." Subtitled "a ritual drama about nuclear madness and the denial of death," the piece is now touring the Midwest with performances at Chicago's Commons Theater Center this week. Further Midwestern stops include Madison and LaCrosse, Wis., and Northfield, Minn. In April, the company will begin to tour the play on the East Coast.

Using the scheme invented by Elizabeth Kubler-Ross in *On Death and Dying*, Boesing traces a family's responses to the mother's progressive disease in order to personalize the sometimes abstract idea of nuclear death. "Nuclear madness and the denial of death" sounds like a depressing subject, but Boesing is deeply committed to the idea that theater can heal social wounds and help empower people. *Ashes, Ashes* is designed to move its audience past shock, denial and numbness. By making the viewers feel the nuclear threat again she hopes to make them capable of taking action.

Phyllis Rose, the company's managing director, says, "There are no rational through-lines in Martha's work. Each play is a collage of scenes for emotional effect." Thus the family's tragedy becomes a framework for Boesing and the company to do what they do best—alternate humor with wrenchingly beautiful poetic images and juxtapose live music, domestic tragedy and chunks of factual exposition about nuclear war. The women are transformed into war profiteers playing *Monopoly* with tax money, servicemen showing off their muscles, ludicrous diplomats and military technicians jerking off as they tend the boring two-key control panel of a land-based missile. The satire is sharp, and the humor is somehow made doubly funny by the fact that it's an all-female company sending up these quintessentially "masculine" characters.

In between the laughs are some gasps, however. For a few moments, the family members are turned into blind Japanese women drinking tea at home in Hiro-



It's hard to entertain the converted and reach new audiences.

shima—a simple domestic ritual enacted against a background of horror. At another point in the play, the women become Auschwitz victims on their way to the "showers." I must admit that I thought "Oh, no!" to myself, "They're going to drag Auschwitz into it. This will never work." But it did. The simple vulnerability of the naked human bodies onstage was overwhelming, and the risky scene paid off.

Perhaps the most daring part of the play comes when one of the women lights a candle for her mother, then invites the audience members to light candles for their loved ones. As the stage fills with the flickering light of 30 or 60 candles tenuously representing the deepest loves and hopes of the audience, one wonders what Boesing will do. Does she really dare snuff out all this tenderness as a nuclear war would do? I won't tell you how the scene is resolved, but the situation is an extreme test of Boesing's principled belief that truth and healing go

together.

In the end, *Ashes, Ashes* deliberately blurs the boundaries between theater and social action. Company members hand each departing playgoer a copy of the "Nuclear Madness: What You Can Do List" and a calendar of upcoming demonstrations, meetings and benefits. After each performance, a local peace group conducts a discussion of how the audience can take personal action. And the play itself has taken to the streets, with scenes being performed at such places as a demonstration to stop the Minneapolis-based Honeywell Corporation from producing cluster bombs and MX missile parts. According to a recent company newsletter, 5,500 people have seen the play so far, and many have volunteered to work for peace action groups.

It's not surprising that the play has a few weak moments, given

The poster for ASHES, ASHES advertises performances at anti-war demonstrations and theaters.

its difficult subject and its enormous aesthetic and political ambitions. The night I saw *Ashes, Ashes*, I thought some of the family scenes were too long and too sentimental, although they have since been trimmed. There is also a slight unsureness about what audience is being addressed. Some of the factual information on nuclear weapons was probably unnecessary for the troupe's well-informed audience, though it might be necessary for street audiences. It's hard to entertain the converted while reaching a new audience at the same time.

There's also an almost unavoidable problem with the subject: Any artist trying to make nuclear holocaust intelligible must search for analogies, and there are no appropriate analo-

gies. Hiroshima, Auschwitz and the medieval black plague (three of Boesing's analogies), horrible though they were, were not of the same magnitude as the current threat. There's a real danger that these analogies may reduce the nuclear holocaust to a thinkable event in history, rather than an end to history and perhaps to life itself.

In spite of these difficulties, *Ashes, Ashes* works because its best moments are so good. One thing that has helped the company survive for eight years (many small companies close within a year) and gain the respect even of critics who disagree with its politics, is the consistently high quality of acting. That high quality is evident again in *Ashes, Ashes*. Jan Magrane, who has been with the company since it came to Minneapolis in 1974, gives a fine performance. Laurie Witzkowski, a newcomer in her first play with the troupe, is outstanding as the punk daughter. She makes Boesing's point about the relation between political pressures and extreme cultural styles in an exuberantly playful and physical way.

Brecht has obviously influenced Boesing's episodic looseness, quick shifts of tone and emphasis on entertainment value. But her work has none of Brecht's coolness and defensive irony. At the Foot of the Mountain's plays are created "in collaboration with the company," which means that each actor feels her way into a character that expresses some part of herself. If any member has a strong objection to a line, scene or gesture, that personal veto will be respected. In addition to physical and technical training, the actors go through therapeutic emotional exercises as part of rehearsal. So social questions get explored from the inside out.

This style has given the troupe a loyal following, which crams into its small playing space in Minneapolis' West Bank People's Center for each new production. *Junkie*, a play about various kinds of addiction, was the last big success. It toured widely and is now being made into a film. Another Boesing play, *The Web*, is currently running at Providence's Trinity Square Repertory Theater. In addition to the major productions, the theater sponsors a series called "Broadcloth: A Sampler of New Work by Women Performers," and a "Differences" series that explores such difficult topics as racism in the feminist movement and divisions between lesbian and heterosexual women.

Money continues to be a problem, as it is even for big established theaters like Minneapolis' Guthrie Theater, but most of the time the company is able to pay its members a professional salary. Meanwhile, its programming seems to expand at a time when Reaganism is contracting everything else.

Charles Sugnet teaches literature at the University of Minnesota.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



PACs

Continued from page 12

raised over \$400,000 so far and paid out \$40,000 to candidates supportive of gay rights who also back civil rights for women and blacks. The fund has contributed to 35 candidates so far but hopes to increase that figure to 80.

Human Rights PAC Washington, D.C.

When a Papal decree forbade priests from holding office, Father Robert Drinan retired from Congress and lent his name and pen to this small two-and-a-half-year-old PAC. With minimal overhead, the PAC hopes to distribute \$50,000 this cycle to 28 House candidates and one in the Senate. Based on their votes on 13 House bills, the PAC is supporting 17 incumbents such as Barney Frank and Matt McHugh. They will back 11 House challengers as well, including Bob Mrazek and Lynn Cutler, and Senate challenger Roger McDaniel in Wyoming. Most of the \$15,000 the PAC has collected to date—half from events, 40 percent from personal appeals and 10 percent from direct mail—is now staked on this cycle's last and biggest mailing.

League of Conservation Voters (LCV) Washington, D.C.

LCV, the largest of the environmental PACs, has been making the environment an issue since it was founded in 1970. An unaffiliated, non-partisan PAC, LCV supports candidates who have strong positions on energy, environmental and health issues. LCV collects money by canvassing. Thousands of volunteers go door-to-door in their local districts campaigning for their candidates, collecting contributions and convincing people to vote. Of the \$900,000 LCV had collected as of the end of August, \$120,000 has been given as cash to campaigns. Nearly triple this sum has been given in the form of in-kind services, including canvassing. LCV hopes to give \$150,000 to candidates this time around.

National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL/PAC), Washington, D.C.

NARAL's four-year-old affiliated PAC holds the same single-issue bias as NARAL: keeping abortion legal. With the exception of fundraising expenses, the 150,000-member affiliated organization, founded in 1970, pays all of its PAC's administrative costs. That leaves an impressive bundle for campaigns. NARAL/PAC has collected more than \$500,000 this cycle, and has given about \$210,000 of it to campaigns. Nearly \$35,000 more has been spent as in-kind services for some of the more than 100 congressional races NARAL/PAC contributes to. The PAC gives a bit less than a third of its money to important state races. The rest goes to national candidates, all of whom must agree to support the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and oppose an amendment to turn the abortion issue over to state governments.

National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC), New York City

NCEC was a PAC before people called such organizations PACs, before the Moral Majority awoke to the threat of "secular humanism," and before NCPAC chief Terry Dolan was born. Founded in 1949 by Eleanor Roosevelt and others to respond to the threat of isolationism and right-wing politics, NCEC fought McCarthyism in the '50s and the Vietnam War in the '60s. The NCEC gives candidates cash donations and offers political services such as consulting, polling and voter-profile analyses. Its expertise is so developed that candidates vie for the group's services more than their money. The only ones who receive help are those in close races. This year it is assisting 70 such races in the House and 12 in the Senate. As the largest non-labor liberal PAC in the country, it is widely regarded as the smartest and most effective liberal PAC. For the two-year election cycle ending in November, the NCEC has collected about \$2 million. Of this, nearly \$200,000

will be given in cash contributions to candidates. A sum considerably greater than this will be spent on services for liberal candidates.

National Organization for Women (NOW/PAC), Washington, D.C.

Until this year NOW's five-year-old PAC spent much of its time fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment. But after the ERA's defeat, NOW/PAC has more time for other feminist issues. NOW/PAC has collected more than \$450,000 from its 220,000 members this election cycle and expects to reach \$1 million by November. With a national network of fundraising volunteers in place, NOW/PAC has the potential to become one of the most influential liberal PACs in the country. Its overhead is kept low because of its huge mailing list and because its affiliated organization foots 25 percent of the administrative bills. It has already given out about 90 percent of receipts, or \$400,000 to the congressional campaigns of men and women who support NOW's feminist-related issues such as the ERA, reproductive rights, civil rights for lesbians and economic issues as they apply to women. Unlike most PACs, NOW/PAC gives not only to candidates in close races, but also to feminists who are likely to be losers, in order to encourage their political careers.

Progressive Political Action Committee (PROPAC), Washington, D.C.

PROPAC is the most aggressive of all left PACs in its opposition to the right. Founded in 1981, the organization's goal is to help liberal candidates get elected and defeat those who are conservatives. PROPAC specializes in "targeting" and in independent negative campaigns, which attack through TV and newspaper ads ultra-right politicians such as Orrin Hatch and John Le Bottillier. A smaller left counterpart of NCPAC, PROPAC has collected \$550,000 this election cycle and has given \$180,000 to campaigns.

Sierra Club Committee on Political Education (SCCOPE), San Francisco

Founded in 1892, the Sierra Club is the nation's oldest and second largest environmental group. With 315,000 members and an annual budget of \$19 million, the organization has traditionally shied away from politics. But in 1976 the Sierra Club Committee on Political Education (SCCOPE) was founded. By 1980, it had become involved in national elections. Unlike most PACs that pool all of their funds, SCCOPE keeps two separate accounts, one for fundraising and expenses, the other for campaign work. That means 100 percent of the \$275,000 collected for campaign work to date will go into campaigns. By election day, Kutler expects to have given out \$100,000 in cash, \$75,000 in staff for candidates and \$100,000 in regional support services. SCCOPE is a bi-partisan PAC and supports a few pro-environment Republicans like Vermont Sen. Robert Stafford.

The Victory Fund Washington, D.C.

The Victory Fund, although technically an independent PAC, is an offshoot of the 60,000 member 11-year-old National

Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). The Caucus, whose chief purpose is to increase the number of women holding political office, also has a much smaller affiliated PAC called the Campaign Support Committee, which functions primarily at the state level. The Victory Fund only supports candidates who publicly support the ERA, abortion rights and government-funded child care. The Victory Fund has raised about \$200,000 and plans to give some \$150,000 of the total collected as cash to campaigns.

Women's Campaign Fund (WCF) Washington, D.C.

WCF, founded in 1974, supports only liberal women candidates for public office at the state and federal levels. The WCF, which calls itself multi-partisan, will support Democratic, liberal or Republican candidates as long as they are generally liberals who support pro-choice and pro-equal rights legislation. The organization, which offers support services for women starting out in the political arena, is supporting about 24 congressional races and scores of state contests, which will receive about 60 percent of the organization's disbursements this year. WCF's goal is to disburse \$200,000 in cash and \$200,000 in services to campaigns before election day.

Freeze

Continued from page 14

tional committeewoman, Gerridee Wheeler; and three Republican state legislators.

Oregon. Freeze workers in Oregon collected 112,000 signatures in about 10 weeks this spring, more than twice the number needed to put a referendum on the ballot.

The initiative was filed with state officials by U.S. Representatives Jim Weaver and Les AuCoin, and the petition drive was coordinated by their staffs. Volunteers came from the Audubon Society, Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club and Physicians for Social Responsibility, as well as traditional peace groups.

At the center of the campaign has been the Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, which includes the Catholic Church and 11 Protestant denominations.

Freeze organizers say support for the campaign has been so broad that they have had trouble keeping up with events. Julie Williamson, who works out of Congressman AuCoin's office in Portland, says her office has stopped planning freeze activities altogether.

Montana. In early 1981, amid talk in Washington about basing part of the MX missile system in Montana, John McNamer, a cattle rancher who lives about 60 miles north of Missoula, started circulating petitions around Missoula to protest the government's plan. In August, encouraged by the success of his private petition drive, McNamer joined forces with Montana Network for Nuclear Disarmament, and the Montana freeze initiative was born.

By December 1981, before most other

freeze groups had even formed, 11,000 Montanans had signed freeze petitions. In the end, although only 18,000 signatures were required, organizers turned in a total of 32,453—representing one out of every 25 residents in the state.

"We've been mad about nuclear weapons for a long time now," says freeze worker Deb Thomas in Missoula. As she points out, 200 of the nation's 1,000 Minuteman ICBMs are based in Montana. "We've been waiting for the rest of the country to catch up with us."

Rhode Island. Rhode Island's referendum emerged from the state legislature by a lopsided vote of both houses. It is supported by Democratic Governor J. Joseph Garrahy and by all four members of the congressional delegation.

The freeze campaign, which was begun by the state American Friends Service Committee and Women for a Non-Nuclear Future, now has a full-time coordinator, Jim Moran. Freeze workers are busy canvassing neighborhoods to identify freeze supporters and make sure they are registered to vote in November. Although there have been no polls, organizers expect the referendum to pass.

Moran says the Rhode Island freeze campaign hasn't encountered any organized opposition to date, but he expects that to change before November. "So much of it is out of our hands," he says. "For example, Reagan could go on national TV the night before the vote and say the negotiations in Geneva are about to turn a corner and that a nuclear freeze would tie the administration's hands."

Massachusetts. Up to the last minute, it appeared that Massachusetts' freeze referendum would never get out of the state legislature. Although both houses approved freeze resolutions in July, it was necessary for a conference committee to iron out the differences between the two versions. And with the September deadline for getting on the November ballot fast approaching, Speaker of the House Thomas W. McGee was refusing to appoint conferees, thus effectively killing the measure.

Political pressure broke the logjam. On September 20, 200 freeze supporters gathered outside the State House to protest McGee's inaction. About the same time McGee also received a letter signed by 12 of the 14 members of the state's congressional delegation urging him to reconsider. On September 22, a conference committee met and approved a freeze resolution calling for a "nuclear weapons moratorium," and on the following day, just hours before the deadline, both houses voted to put it on the ballot November 2.

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George Palmer writes for *St. Louis Journalism Review*. Michael Kazin is a San Francisco-based writer who has written for *The Nation* and *Mother Jones*. Steve Burkholder is a Madison, Wis., writer who has written for the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *New York Times*.

The news magazine on the antinuclear movement, *Nuclear Times* is located at 298 Fifth Ave., Room 512, NY 10001/(212)563-5940.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

October 22

Forum/Protest: Polish Treason Trials of Solidar-

ity Activists. Participants include: Paul Sweezy, Paul Robeson Jr., Daniel Berrigan, Bernadette Devlin, Marta Petrusiewicz (Princeton) and Tony Mazzocchi (OCAW) at the N.Y. Newspaper Guild, Haywood Brown Auditorium, 133 West 44 Street (between 6th and 7th Avenue). Friday from 7:30-10:30 p.m. For more information: Solidarity Committee, 175 Fifth Avenue, #1101, NYC 10010. (212) 255-1518.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

October 23

"Meet Your Candidates and Civic Leaders" wine-and-cheese reception. Saturday 2-5 p.m. Temple University Center City (23rd floor), 1616 Walnut St. At the door: \$5 (\$8 couple), students, senior citizens and unemployed \$3 (\$5 couple). Advance reservations (paid by Oct. 20): \$3 (\$5 couple), students, senior citizens, and unemployed \$2 (\$3 couple). Concerned Citizens of the Delaware Valleys, Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010. Information: Harry Hyde, (215) 525-1129.

BOSTON, MA

October 26

"Feminism, the Family and the New Right," a

forum with Democratic Socialists of America Vice-Chair Barbara Ehrenreich and Betty Friedan. JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Boylston St., (near Harvard Square), Cambridge. Talk begins at 8:00 p.m. Cash bar reception to follow. Sponsored by Boston DSA. For information call: (617) 426-9026.

CHICAGO, IL

October 27-November 18

"Labor and the Depression," with Ed Sadlowski, Carl Shier, Roberta Lynch and Paul Booth. Thursday evenings, Oct. 28-Nov. 18, 8 p.m. Tuition \$15, \$4 each session. "Introduction to Democratic Socialism," led by Chris Riddiough. Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m., Oct. 27-Nov. 17. Second City Socialist School, 1300 W. Belmont. For info, call 871-7700. Sponsored by Democratic Socialists of America.

October 30

Meet Jules Feiffer, autographing his new book *Feiffer: Jules Feiffer's America from Eisenhower to Reagan* at 2:00 p.m. at Guild Books, 2456 North Lincoln Avenue. For more information, call (312) 525-3667.

Cans

Continued from page 24

Aiz. It seems that at about this time he attempted to search for family ties. "There was no relation whatsoever. No aunts, no uncles, no grandparents, no nothin', as far as I can find out. Nothin'. Nothin' whatsoever. You're on your own, you know? Then everything went haywire. That's when I started to drink."

And drift. All over the country. Finally, he hooked up with a carnival—Shorter Shows of Waterloo, Iowa—and enjoyed 14 years of relatively steady employment. He says he would never go back to the carnival because he's too old now—\$1. "And the money's too tight. The jeans are too tight. Money doesn't fall out of those jeans as bad as they did. In the old days those pockets used to be loose and nice. They'd fall right out into the bottom of that rig—you know?—the Tilt-a-Whirl. You could pick \$3 worth of change outta there."

"You get it any way you can. Hey, life is life. When I'm outta cigarettes I won't ask a person on the street for a cigarette. Hey, I'm gonna make it. I'm gonna get me a pack of cigarettes. I'm gonna work. Welfare I don't like. General assistance is nothing but a gimmick. Go out and get your money, live it, get drunk. Fuck it, man, I'm damned near drunk now. And I ain't workin'. I ain't collectin' nothin'. And I'm damned near drunk. I'm sayin' you don't have to work to get drunk. You don't have to work to make a livin'. You gotta hustle."

He looks around the musty little living room, the sounds of Portland Avenue traffic and Southeast Asian children coming through his open front door. "Hey, everything in here came from dumpsters. Look at that plant or this plant over here (both plastic). Or those pictures. Hey, man, you can decorate any way you want. You can pick up anything. If you want it, you take it. I'm planning on a rummage sale one of these days. A basement sale. Get rid of it all and start over again. You know, I pick up all kinds of little knick-

knacks. Who in the hell would pick up a little tree like that (a little plastic palm-like tree on a table)? And all those elves sittin' there (about 15 tiny red elves under the tree)? Hey, man, that's beautiful to me. Beautiful. I like it."

Neophyte junkers.

The competition is stiffening. More people are rummaging for cans. Harrington is optimistic that the coming cold days will drive out some competition—and he has a snowmobile suit that he found brand new, still in its package, inside a dumpster.

Wherever he goes he shouts greetings. It is, as he explains, part of the hustle. A few cans of Colt 45 and a spirited bike ride through the streets for the afternoon aluminum-can run. It's part of the joy of living. "Sometimes [Colt 45] has that kick when you least expect it. Man, you can go down the street on that bicycle and all of a sudden you're weaving. But you're feelin' good. You're feeling good, man, and you've got that bike under control."

"To me, life's been happy. Hey, man, I don't give a shit. I

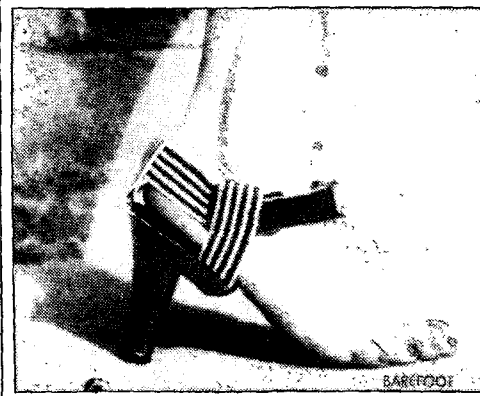
can die tomorrow, die next week. I'm going wherever in hell they send me. I think I've put in a full life. I might have a lotta years to go yet. But it's gonna be this way. I might get old and ugly, gray, this and that. But people are still gonna say, 'Hey,

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Floyd!' and throw their cans out the window to me. Hey, man, I treat people the way they wanna be treated. The way I wanna be treated."

Dick Dahl is news editor of Minneapolis' City Pages, where a version of this article first appeared.

CULTURE SHOCK



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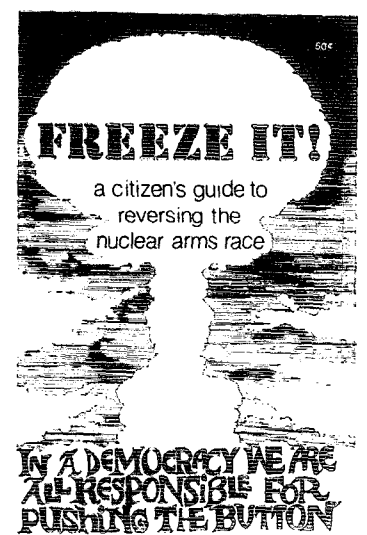
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OCTOBER, JEWISH CURRENTS. Editorial, "Sharon, Resign! Begin, Resign!", Marylou Hadditt, "1,000 Jewish Feminists." Francine Krasno, "New Homes for Old Yiddish Books." Morris Slavin, "Polish History to 1939." Single copy postpaid \$1.50, Subscription \$10 USA. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., NYC 10003.

JESUS FICTIONAL! Positive proof Romans (Flavius Josephus) created Christianity. Booklet, \$3.00—Vector, Box 6215-F, Bellevue, WA 98007.



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Karl Gehring

The junkman gets it where he can

By Dick Dahl

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

FLOYD HARRINGTON AND BOB Oxta are the kinds of men upon whom you might hang a cliché. You might call them society's rejects. They have trouble holding jobs even when they're available. They drink too much. They wear the same clothes from day to day. When they sit in a chair they leave little pieces of grit behind. When you leave their apartment, you carry its musty odor in your clothes.

Life has provided little for Harrington and Oxta. And they ask for little. But they are happy and satisfied because here in Minneapolis, in the heartland of the U.S., those people occupying higher positions on the social ladder toss out enough to keep Harrington and Oxta alive and, therefore, happy.

Aluminum beer cans are worth about a penny each these days. Twenty-four of the 12-ouncers or 17 of the 16-ouncers equal a pound. And at Kirschbaum-Krupp Metals Co. on Minneapolis' north side, they're paying 22 cents per pound, 24 cents if you bring in 100 or more pounds.

Speaking just for himself, Harrington says seven or eight dollars—his usual daily take after hitting his favorite hot spots on two runs—are more than enough for a couple of six packs of Colt 45 at Nadler's Liquor Store. And a couple of six packs is what it takes, he says, to make him feel real good.

With his disability, Oxta receives a check of more than \$300 a month. It arrives on the first day of the month. Two hundred of it goes for rent, and a few dollars for the electric bill. When he gets a check, just like in the old days when he got his paychecks at the Curtis Hotel where he was a kitchen helper, Oxta goes to the Blue Ox to buy drinks for his friends.

"It'll all be gone by tomorrow," chuckles Harrington, well into his day's Colt 45 by mid-afternoon. While his



Karl Gehring

roommate is at the Blue Ox paying \$1.50 for bar beer, Harrington is at home amid the plastic knick-knacks other people have thrown away. His 16-ounce can of malt liquor has twice the volume for a third the price being paid over at the Blue Ox, he says, shaking his head. And his Colt 45 has more kick to it than beer. The can is sitting atop a TV tray he found in a dumpster. A little white cat named Fifi, found a few weeks ago in an alley, crosses the floor.

He chuckles again behind an expression that is at once tired and amused. Of his roommate and his roommate's money, he says, "He's not happy 'til it's all gone. Tomorrow he'll be happy." Harrington's Irish face is mercurial whether he's sober or not. Oxta is the opposite. His voice and expression rarely change. He speaks rapidly in a monotone, never displaying anger, even when he tells about how he felt when the Curtis Hotel tried to pull a fast one. The hotel fired him and then claimed he "voluntarily quit."

Harrington is the domineering force in this relationship, having absolutely no qualms about the fact that right now Oxta is paying all the rent from his Social Security check. "I pay when I can," Harrington says. "When I'm working. But I pick up most of the cans. He walks in here with 24 cans in a bag. I bring back bags full of 'em."

"He's a cripple. He's gotta push that cart. I've gotta look out for him. I get Bobby up at six and out the goddamned door. I say, 'You sonofabitch, you could get up and go to work at that hotel. Get up and collect cans.'"

"Hey, I'm the one who got him on this Social Security. He'd just sit there with the TV on all day if I weren't here. I got him interested in this fucking garbage. Hey, man, if he finds a fucking razor he's tickled. 'Who can we sell it to?' he asks. You gotta give him something to do. He'd just sit there in that chair watchin' TV. Just watchin' and watchin' and watchin'. You gotta get him up. 'Hey, let's go! Gotta get some cans!' And he's up."

The two men have known each other

for a year and a half, from the days when they both worked at the Curtis. Oxta worked full-time, Harrington "by the day," doing maintenance and gardening. Harrington lost his standing there, he admits, because he drank on the job. "They called me 'Colt 45.'"

Day by day.

Harrington hates full-time jobs. "I'd rather be paid by the day. I have money in my pocket at night when I get off work. When I've had jobs by the week, hey man, those bills pile up. You get in the bars, you wanna start a bar bill. By the time you cash that check, the bar's got it all. I drink if I got it. If I don't got it, I don't drink."

Trust and kindness, along with Colt 45, are what Harrington seems to live for. People along his can-collection routes have gotten to know and like him. When he is out on his routes, Harrington is a purveyor of glad tidings and good cheer. People save cans for him alone so others don't get them first.

"I'm nice with everybody. I don't know where I get it from. I should be ugly and mean. The way I figure it, if you're brought up the way I was brought up you should be ugly and mean, nasty, stealing this and that."

Harrington was brought up during the Great Depression in a Philadelphia orphanage called Friends Home for Children. "That's all I can remember—that I was brought up there. And I'll tell ya, you've gotta get out there and hustle. See, what they caught me doing was stealing money from the kids. The kids had money. And it wasn't really an orphanage. The kids that were in there, people would pay for 'em, come on the weekend, take 'em out, this and that. And I had nothin'. Nothin'. I'd steal from the kids."

He left the orphanage at age 13 and spent four years in a reformatory. "No visitors, no nothin'," he says. When he was 18 he joined the Air Force. By then, the war was over. Three years later he received an honorable discharge in Tucson,

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